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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British

Archaeological Association,

ESTABLISHED 1843

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

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1904

NEW SERIES, VOL. X.—1904.

London :

PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION.

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LONDON :

PRINTED AT THE BEDFORD PRESS, 20 AND 21, BEDFORDBURY, W.C.

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PREFACE.

THE TENTH VOLUME OF THE NEW SERIES OF THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION for the year 1904 contains the Papers which were laid before the Sheffield Congress, and some which were read during the recent Session in London (1903-1904); together with the Proceedings of the Congress and the Evening Meetings.

The Council has again to thank the Authors of Papers for many of the Plates and illustrations, while for the Photographs which illustrate the Paper on Roche Abbey and the Proceedings of Congress grateful acknowledgment must be accorded to Mr. J. R. Wigfull. These immeasurably enhance the value of the Volume, and the attractiveness of its appearance. Obituary Notices, notes of recent discoveries, and reviews of books of archæological interest will also be found.

The year has not been remarkable for any very great discoveries in the field of British archæology, although one or two Roman Villas have been unearthed, and several important "finds" have been made in the course of the improvements now being carried out in London. The most interesting event of the year is undoubtedly the decipherment of an inscribed lead tablet, discovered

in the King's Spring at Bath in the year 1880, by Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, who finds it to be a document of the highest value to the student of early British Christianity: but detailed reference must be deferred to our next volume.

Among members removed by death, mention must be made of Sir Albert Woods, K.C.B., one of the oldest Associates; Viscount Melville, Mr. Michael Ferrar, and Dr. Creswell.

The Congress at Bath, unfortunately, proved unremunerative as a recruiting ground for new members, yet it is to these that a Society such as ours must ever look, if it is to continue to a distant future the work so ably accomplished by those who inevitably pass away; and, in sending out the sixtieth volume of our *Journal*, the Editor can formulate no better wish for the Association than that the succession of competent and enthusiastic archaeologists among its members may never fail.

H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY.

December 31st, 1904.



British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archaeology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities not later than 1750, which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Public Meetings are held from November to June, on the Wednesdays given on the next page, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Hon.-Treasurer, W. de Gray Birch, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., 32, Sackville Street, W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, crossed "Bank of England, W. Branch" should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or FIVE GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA, except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archaeological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, in which case the entrance-fee is remitted. The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers read before the Association should be transmitted to the *Editor* of the Association, 32, Sackville Street; if they are accepted by the Council they will be printed in the volumes of the *Journal*, and they will be considered to be the property of the Association. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1:1 each to Associates; £1:11:6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1:11:6; to the Associates, 5s.

By a Resolution of the Council, passed on January 18th, 1899, Associates may now procure the Volumes of the First Series (I-L), so far as still in print, at 5s. each, or the single parts at 1s. 3d. each.

In addition to the *Journal*, published every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archaeologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s. (*See coloured wrapper of the quarterly Parts.*)

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A. Present price to Associates, 5s.; to the public, 7s. 6d. Another Index, to volumes xxxi-xlii, the *Collectanea Archaeologica*, and the two extra vols. for the Winchester and Gloucester Congresses, also now ready (uniform). Price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s.

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1903-1904 are as follows:—1903, Nov. 18; Dec. 16; 1904, Jan. 20; Feb. 17; March 16; April 20; May 4 (Annual General Meeting), 18; June 15.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their name, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of Patrons, Associates, Local Members of Council, Honorary Correspondents, and Honorary Foreign Members.

1. The Patrons,—a class confined to members of the royal family or other illustrious persons.
2. The Associates shall consist of ladies or gentlemen elected by the Council, and who, upon the payment of one guinea entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a Member of the Society of Antiquaries of London, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or fifteen guineas as a life-subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Council, and admit one visitor to each of the ordinary meetings of the Association.
3. The Local Members of Council shall consist of such of the Associates elected from time to time by the Council, on the nomination of two of its members, who shall promote the views and objects of the Association in their various localities, and report the discovery of antiquarian objects to the Council. There shall be no limit to their number, but in their election the Council shall have regard to the extent and importance of the various localities which they will represent. The Local Members shall be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council, to advise them, and report on matters of archæological interest which have come to their notice; but they shall not take part in the general business of the Council, or be entitled to vote on any subject.
4. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two Members of the Council, or of four Associates.
5. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious or learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, two Honorary Secretaries, and eighteen other Associates, all of whom shall constitute the Council, and two Auditors without seats in the Council.

The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, members of Council, and Officers, shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting, to be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year. Such election shall be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during at least one hour. A majority of votes shall determine the election. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the Chairman, and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two Scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists and report thereon to the General Meeting.

2. If any member of the Council, elected at the Annual General Meeting, shall not have attended three meetings of the Council, at least, during the current session, the Council shall, at their meeting held next before the Annual Meeting, by a majority of votes of the members present, recommend whether it is desirable that such member shall be eligible for re-election or not, and such recommendation shall be submitted to the Annual Meeting on the ballot papers.

CHAIRMAN OF MEETINGS.

1. The President, when present, shall take the chair at all meetings of the Association. He shall regulate the discussions and enforce the laws of the Association.

2. In the absence of the President, the chair shall be taken by the Treasurer, or by the senior or only Vice-President present, and willing to preside; or in default, by the senior elected Member of Council or some officer present.

3. The Chairman shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Association, discharge all debts previously presented to and approved of by the Council, and shall make up his accounts to the 31st of December

in each year, and having had his accounts audited he shall lay them before the Annual Meeting. Two-thirds of the life-subscriptions received by him shall be invested in such security as the Council may approve.

THE SECRETARIES.

The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the Members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association. The notices of meetings of the Council shall state the business to be transacted, including the names of any candidates for the office of Vice-President or Members of Council, but not the names of proposed Associates or Honorary Correspondents.

THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the Associates; whose names, when elected, are to be read over at the ordinary meetings.

2. The Council shall meet on the days on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require, and five members shall be a quorum.

3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.

4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members, notice of proposed election being given at the immediately preceding Council meeting.

5. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The ordinary meetings of the Association shall be held on the third Wednesdays in November and December, and in the months from January to June inclusive, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely, for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.

The *Annual General Meeting* of the Association shall be held on the *first* Wednesday in May in each year, at 4.30 P.M. precisely, at which the President, Vice-Presidents, and officers of the Association shall be elected, and such other business shall be conducted as may be deemed advisable for the well-being of the Association: but none of the rules of the Association shall be repealed or altered unless twenty-eight days' notice of intention to propose

such repeal or alteration shall have been given to the Secretaries, and they shall have notified the same to the Members of the Council at their meeting held next after receipt of the notice.

2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Associates, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly, stating therein the object for which the meeting is called.

3. A General Public Meeting or Congress shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom, at such time and for such period as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

4. The Officers having the management of the Congress shall submit their accounts to the Council at their next meeting after the Congress shall have been held, and a detailed account of their personal expenses, accompanied by as many vouchers as they can produce.

ANNULMENT OF MEMBERSHIP.

If there shall be any ground alleged, other than the non-payment of subscriptions, for the removal of any Associate, such ground shall be submitted to the Council at a Special Meeting to be summoned for that purpose, of which notice shall be given to the Associate complained of, and in default of his attending such meeting of Council, or giving a satisfactory explanation to the Council, he shall, if a resolution be passed at such meeting, or any adjournment thereof, by two-thirds at least of the members then present for such removal, thereupon cease to be a member of the Association. Provided that no such resolution shall be valid unless nine members of the Council at least (including the Chairman) shall be present when the resolution shall be submitted to the meeting.

LIST OF CONGRESSES.

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1844 CANTERBURY . . . 1845 WINCHESTER . . . 1846 GLOUCESTER . . . 1847 WARWICK . . . 1848 WORCESTER . . . 1849 CHESTER . . .	THE LORD A. D. CONYNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1850 MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	
1851 DERBY . . .	
1852 NEWARK . . .	
1853 ROCHESTER . . .	
1854 CHEPSTOW . . .	
1855 ISLE OF WIGHT . . .	J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1856 BRIDGWATER AND BATH	SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, Bt., D.C.L.
1857 NORWICH . . .	THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE
1858 SALISBURY . . .	RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1859 NEWBURY . . .	
1860 SHREWSBURY . . .	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1861 EXETER . . .	THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1862 LEICESTER . . .	THE MARQUESS OF AILESBUARY
1863 LEEDS . . .	THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.
1864 IPSWICH . . .	BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1865 DURHAM . . .	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, Bt.
1866 HASTINGS . . .	JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1867 LUDLOW . . .	LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.
1868 CIRENCESTER . . .	GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.
1869 ST. ALBAN'S . . .	THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND
1870 HEREFORD . . .	THE EARL OF CHICHESTER
1871 WEYMOUTH . . .	SIR C. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, Bt.
1872 WOLVERHAMPTON . . .	THE EARL BATHURST
1873 SHEFFIELD . . .	THE LORD LYTON
1874 BRISTOL . . .	CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P.
1875 EVESHAM . . .	SIR W. COLES MEDLICOTT, Bt., D.C.L.
1876 BODMIN AND PENZANCE	THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH
	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
	KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P.
	THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD
	THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGECUMBE

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1877 Llandolien . . .	SIR WATKIN W. WYNN, BART., M.P.
1878 Wisbech . . .	THE EARL OF HARDWICKE
1879 YARMOUTH & NORWICH . . .	THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S.
1880 DEVIZES . . .	THE EARL NELSON
1881 GREAT MALVERN . . .	LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, D.D., DEAN OF WORCESTER
1882 PLYMOUTH . . .	THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.
1883 DOVER . . .	THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.
1884 TENBY . . .	THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S
1885 BRIGHTON . . .	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1886 DARLINGTON AND BISHOP AUCKLAND . . .	THE BISHOP OF DURHAM
1887 LIVERPOOL . . .	SIR J. A. PICTON, F.S.A.
1888 GLASGOW . . .	THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., LL.D.
1889 LINCOLN . . .	THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOT- TINGHAM
1890 OXFORD . . .	
1891 YORK . . .	THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G.
1892 CARDIFF . . .	THE BISHOP OF LLANDAFF
1893 WINCHESTER . . .	THE EARL OF NORTHEROOK, G.C.S.I.
1894 MANCHESTER . . .	
1895 STOKES-ON-TRENT . . .	THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND, K.G.
1896 LONDON AND HOME COUNTIES . . .	COLONEL SIR WALTER WILKIN.
1897 CONWAY . . .	THE LORD MOSTYN.
1898 PETERBOROUGH . . .	THE BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.
1899 BUXTON . . .	THE MARQUESS OF GRANBY.
1900 LEICESTER . . .	
1901 NEWCASTLE . . .	THOS. HODGKIN, ESQ., D.C.L., F.S.A.
1902 WESTMINSTER AND HOME COUNTIES . . .	LIEUT.-COLONEL CLIFFORD PROBYN.
1903 SHEFFIELD . . .	R. E. LEADER, ESQ., B.A., F.S.A.



OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION, 1903-4.

President.

R. E. LEADER, ESQ., B.A., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.

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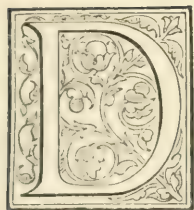
THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British Archaeological Association.

APRIL, 1904.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

By R. E. LEADER, Esq., B.A.

(Read August 10th, 1903.)



URING the thirty years that have elapsed since the British Archæological Association honoured Sheffield by holding its Annual Congress here, great changes have taken place. A town of 250,000 inhabitants has developed into a city of over 400,000. Its central streets have been reconstructed almost beyond recognition. The remorseless extension of its boundaries has been accompanied by a lamentable sacrifice of beautiful surroundings, and the submergence of many old landmarks. The immense modern activity evidenced by this material prosperity is inimical to a study of archæology, and to the conservation of matters of antiquarian interest. And thoughts of the human changes brought by these thirty years cannot but be tinged with a shadow of sadness. We miss to-day the faces of many guests with whom it is an abiding memory to have enjoyed pleasant intercourse; for they were men whose erudition enhanced, without overshadowing, their social charm. Even more

poignant is the regret with which one contemplates the havoc time has wrought amongst those most helpful in welcoming the Association. The period in which Hunter had given distinction to South Yorkshire archæology was not, in 1876, so remote as to prevent his influence being still felt as a living presence. For a select band of men, trained in his school, and imbued with his spirit, were still carrying on the work which he, and Mr. Samuel Mitchell after him, had so well begun. The Rev. John Stacey was holding high place as a learned and accurate investigator. Gentle William Swift, courteously generous in placing the results of his minute research at the disposal of all inquirers, was still among us : an encyclopædia of information as curious as it was exact. Dr. Gatty did not claim to be a profound archæologist, but he was unrivalled in treating antiquarian subjects with pleasant skill. Here, too, were Alderman Guest, the historian of Rotherham ; John Daniel Leader, whose labours increased our knowledge of the past and enlarged our antiquarian literature ; William Bragge, the depositary of much quaint lore ; Arthur Jackson, the inheritor of a fine enthusiasm for everything relating to Old Sheffield ; Matthew Ellison Hadfield, and John Brightmore Mitchell-Withers, stimulating the members of their profession to reverence for the great historic traditions of architecture ; and others who, if less definitely engaged in archæological inquiry, ever extended helpful sympathy to those who were.

These have all passed away, and who is left to take their place ? I am afraid we cannot claim that in the interval between the Association's last visit and this, zeal for architectural research has, in this bustling community, been altogether rampant. In 1873, quietly watchful of your proceedings, Henry Bradley, while patiently discharging uncongenial duties in a dingy warehouse, was laying the foundation of that learning which has placed him in the first rank of English philologists. Before he left us for higher duties, he, with our venerable townsman, Mr. David Parkes, still happily spared, threw invaluable light on our place-names and dialect. Mr. Sidney Oldall Addy, besides working in these and other

fields, has propounded ingenious theories on many obscure points in our local annals, conspicuously on that communal development which Mr. John Daniel Leader also made the subject of searching study. Others, like Mr. W. T. Freemantle, who has devoted himself to bibliography, and Captain Ronksley and Dr. Porter have been labouring unobtrusively on investigations of which we may hope hereafter to see the fruits. Nor must I omit to mention our neighbour, Mr. Robert White, who has just added to the obligations under which he has placed archaeologists by the reparation of Nottinghamshire records throwing much light on our early Lords, De Buslis and De Lovetots. But those who are now known to be conducting systematic research might be counted on the fingers of one hand; and it has to be confessed with regret that the Sheffield Architectural and Archaeological Society, which for a time did good work and gave promise of much usefulness, has ceased to exist.

Reflections like these may seem but a left-handed greeting to archaeologists. I trust they may be taken, as they are intended, to accentuate Sheffield's appreciation of the visit of an Association which comes to wean us from undue absorption in material pursuits. If it does that, your presence here may, like the quality of mercy be twice blessed—may bless both him that gives and him that takes. But the balance of obligation will be on our side if these proceedings revive interest in the story of Sheffield's evolution, augment the number of investigators, and stimulate many to the bestowal of the sympathetic encouragement to whose invigorating influence no student can be indifferent.

As a humble contribution to a broad understanding of the origin and growth of the forces which have made Sheffield what she is, I will inflict upon your patience a rapid glance at what seems to me the influence dominating their course and moulding their development through all periods. That influence is the geographical position of the town—rather, I should say, of Hallamshire, for it was with true archaeological instinct that Mr. Hunter made his great work the History of Hallamshire, not the History of Sheffield. Its topo-

graphy is the key to its history. The slopes that rise from the confluence of Sheaf with Don, buttressed by a rampart of hills and wild moorland, girdled with primeval forests, and remote, on the only accessible side, from the great tide of life, formed an ideal place of settlement when might was the only right—when it was desirable not to tempt foes, and essential to be provided with secure lines of defence or retreat if they came.

Little is certain as to the British inhabitants of this district. But general knowledge of the slight impress made on the less vulnerable parts of the country by the centuries of Roman occupation teaches us that the tribe, or tribes, here escaped conquest. The men in possession were not brought into subjection; they were only held in check. After Rome's legions had been withdrawn, the Britons came down from their retreats in the hill-fastnesses, uninfluenced by a civilisation manifested only in trained cohorts. They retained their old language, usages, and habits. "Over large tracts of the country," writes Mr. John Richard Green, "the rural Britons seem to have remained apart from their conquerors, not only speaking their own language and owning some traditional allegiance to their native chiefs, but retaining their native system of law." The physical and social circumstances which elsewhere offered insuperable obstacles to any enduring civilisation from a purely military occupation, were especially emphasised in the north-western hill country, where the Pennines run from the Roman wall to join that Derbyshire Peak whose outlying spurs are our watershed. The Romans, when here, were content to use the bridle tracks of the Britons as a cross-route from the Great North road to the lead mines of Derbyshire and the waters of Buxton; and though Sheffield was on their way from Templeborough to Brough, they formed no castrum here, satisfied to guard their line of communication against the descents of Britons from their upland eyries. So, when they departed, the "froward and lawless folk," the long-headed, black-haired people of whom Mr. Addy finds traces, were left, until, in course of time, another stubborn resistance had to be offered to bands of invading Germanic tribes.

That is, when the Saxons came to stay; for doubtless these tenacious inland people were effectually shielded from the earlier predatory raids by territories easier of access and richer in plunder. But the Saxon penetrated here at length. Slowly, painfully, and long years after more open parts of the country had been subjugated, he fixed his hold on Hallam, driving to other regions a race which disdained to sink its freedom by commingling with the outlander. So the Saxon erected his dwelling, and established the institutions characteristic of his kind, on the slopes between Loxley and Rivelin and Sheaf, and overlooking the broader valley where these become united in the Don. But not in permanent peace. Occupying one point on the border line between Northumbria and Mercia, there was, doubtless—though history affords us no guidance as to this—some exposure to internecine tribal strife. Equally in the dark are we respecting the fortunes of Hallamshire when the fierce Danes overran the land. The tumuli on Broomhead Moor, the cairn known as the “the Apronful of Stones,” the human bones discovered at Walderslow Hill, near Bolsterstone, coupled with traditions of conflict thereabouts and combined with a certain suggestiveness of nomenclature, have tempted to picturesque speculation as to a great battle between Saxons and Danes. But this is admitted to be imaginary, even by those who have filled in some details. Our chief ethnological guide here is philology, and the outstanding fact in connection with the place-names and dialect of Hallamshire is their “singular freedom from that Scandinavian element” which manifests itself in closely surrounding districts. Dr. Henry Bradley—who, like the retiring Bishop of Manchester, proves that the output of Sheffield workshops may be something superior even to their cutlery—has pointed out that the names included within a circle of twelve miles’ radius round Sheffield are almost exclusively of Anglo-Saxon origin. Our dialect, too, is a thing apart, showing robust individuality and self-centred independence; so that the common speech supports, though somewhat less emphatically than place-names, the evidence of pure Saxon descent. Dr. Bradley did, it is true, after a friendly controversy with Mr.

David Parkes, admit some weakening of his data, and acknowledged the presence of a slightly larger Danish trace. And I am not unaware that other investigators, chiefly on the evidence of earthworks, burial mounds, and other records left on the face of the land, have drawn a precisely opposite conclusion, interpreting many local characteristics as tokens of an overpowering Scandinavian element. The late Mr. Samuel Mitchell, for instance, not only strongly insisted that the dominance of the Dane was writ large, but, contrary to what I have said of the earlier unsusceptibility of the Britons to Roman influence, he even attributed manifest ethnological variations from any one type, to a certain extent of commingling in blood between Roman legionaries from Gaul and Spain with the race they found here. These conflicts of the learned as to the genesis of Hallamshire's inhabitants, when history was dawning, do not, however, affect my argument. That is, that the district moulded the people who settled and lived here, amid all changes of race, quite as much, if not more than, it was moulded by them—that whatever the fluctuations of conquest, however we may read the special influence at work in forming the idiosyncrasies that differentiate the people of Hallamshire from their neighbours, the primal factor in making it what it is, has been the topographical detachment of the place. This is strictly in accordance with the general fact, familiar to historians, that all settlements have in succession been largely shaped by the physical features of the country; that the very ground, as one puts it, exerted a vital influence on the direction and fortunes of every English campaign, and on the permanent results of such campaigns. You are to have an opportunity of examining some of the records the elder races have left, and I must leave experts to pronounce on their teaching. I only venture on the obvious remark that all attempts to identify the makers of the earthworks at Wincobank and Roe Wood, the remarkable hill-fort of Carlswark, the entrenched camp on Mam Tor, the Bar-dike at Bradfield, and other defences, must necessarily be complicated by the certainty that they have, in turn, served succeeding races—have been used by Briton against Roman, and

Roman against Briton, by Celt against Saxon, and Saxon against Dane. And the archæologist who will also read for us aright the stories enshrined in the stone circles and burial mounds on our moors, the Bailey hill at Bradfield, the tumuli at Broomhead, the ancient sepulchre near Bolsterstone, the burial urn and the Bole Hills at Crookes, the stone and bronze implements in the Weston Museum, will settle many speculations as to the periods I have been discussing, and will solve many problems as to the making of the Hallamshire of to-day.

Whatever the conclusions arrived at from these, it may be reasonably conjectured that when Dane and Saxon had agreed to live side by side, the people of Hallamshire, again benefiting by their seclusion, enjoyed a fair measure of peace and prosperity. That certainly was their state when the Norman invasion burst upon the land. At that time we find them in their township or tun, the Aula of Waltheof, their Saxo-Danish Lord, the mound where the village elders met, the cottages and crofts of the freemen, and the huts of the serfs—all protected by encompassing stockade and ditch. Outside were the common pastures and the plough lands—the fields apportioned among the husbandmen in those long strips of which, as Mr. J. D. Leader has pointed out, our land boundaries retain distinct traces to this day.

Like an unsubstantial pageant, Waltheof's Aula has faded, leaving not a rack behind. Into ingenious speculations as to its situation and rank I do not enter. Whether large or small, whether or not the personal residence of a wealthy noble with greater possessions elsewhere, it is sufficient for our present purpose to know that, as the Earl diplomatically accepted the Norman's sway, and even took Duke William's niece to wife, the condition of his people here was little altered by the change of dynasty. It is possible that Waltheof's subsequent renunciation of allegiance brought the mailed fist of the Conqueror down upon Hallam, obliterating it so effectually as to leave it for all time a mere name without local habitation. But the storm passed, and under a line of Norman lords sagacious enough to conserve the existing order

through grafting on it new forms, the commonalty settled down under a rule that, if sternly arbitrary, was paternal. If it conceded no rights, it ensured, to the obedient, tacit privileges. The outward visible mark of the change is the supersession of Hallam, and the emergence of Sheffield as the seat of the lord. The De Lovetots and De Furnivals set themselves to remove the reproach of there being no church, except at Treeton, in their domain : and their mildly feudal sway was marked by other religious and charitable foundations. The inhabitants of this corner of the West Riding, far from the hum and strife of the busier world, enjoyed under them the happiness said to be the portion of people " whose annals are blank in history's book." But this peaceful obscurity, indicative though it be of social well-being, is inimical to archæological research. While our ancestors benefited by remoteness from events attracting the eye of the chronicler, we suffer by reason of the veil drawn over a period whose annals are tantalisingly inadequate. In the absence of records we are fain to elucidate disjointed hints by analogies drawn from places richer in archives. While other towns, situated on the great lines of communication, and playing a larger part in schemes of conquest or government, won, as the country settled, early recognition in the form of charters of incorporation, Sheffield humbly plodded along, content with such crumbs as fell from its Lord's table. That its privileges as to common lands, with some voice in regulating the parish pump were, with a readjustment of taxation, continued from Saxon to Norman rule, is evident. The two local historians who have studied the subject most closely interpret differently the status of the community, as revealed in and established by Lord Furnival's charter of 1297. Into controversies respecting the exact position of Free Tenants as distinguished from Free Burgesses, into appraisements of the true bearing of the franchises then conferred, into distinctions between a thirteenth-century town fully incorporated and one with a modified corporate character, this is not the time to enter. The difference, probably, was one of words and show rather than of realities, of petty dignity more than of

actual privilege. It mattered little to those benefited by Furnival's concessions if they missed the shadow, so long as they got the substance. But this has disastrous results on us, as an Archæological Association. This relegation of an out-of-the-way town to a lower municipal status than places of smaller population enjoyed, deprives us of written documents, and throws us back on the teachings of comparative archæology. Nor have we, unfortunately, that collateral help which the Merchant Guilds of other places throw on mediæval English life, when freedom was "slowly broadening down from precedent to precedent."

Thus, from 1297, the date of Thomas de Furnival's Charter, to 1557, when Queen Mary, alienating public property to ecclesiastical uses, had incorporated the Church Burgesses, our municipal history is largely matter of conjecture. Not until 1556 do the accounts of the Burgery, or Town Trust, commence. Not until 1625 have we systematic records of that Cutlers' Company which under King James's Charter, supplanted a Craft Guild of less formality.

This mention of the Cutlers' Company leads me to remark, that great as have been the influences of topography on Sheffield's general history, they may be said to have created, as they have also vitally shaped, her industrial career.

" Five rivers, like the fingers of a hand,
Flung from black mountains, mingle, and are one."

It was these, together with abundant iron, and contiguous forests supplying unlimited charcoal for smelting, that fixed the occupation of the earlier settlers and made them workers in iron. At what period they began to shape that iron into weapons and tools is just one of the problems awaiting illumination. The first known mention of Sheffield cutlery is dated 1340. In a list of goods issued from the King's wardrobe in the Tower (14 Edward III.) there is scheduled, amongst other knives, "*i cul-tellum de Shefeld.*" Next comes Chaucer's oft-quoted reference in the Reeve's Tale, to the "*Shefeld thwytel.*" which the Miller of Trumpington "*bare in his hose.*" That is always cited as proof that Sheffield cutlery had

already attained national fame. But no one has ever explained by what process the name of Sheffield had become applied as a trade description to knives, when Chaucer wrote.

The "Canterbury Tales" are, approximately, contemporaneous with the Poll Tax of 2 Richard II., 1379. That document's revelation of the humble character of the population here emphasises, I may observe in passing, the disabilities incident upon Sheffield's geographical position; but the remarkable thing we have to note for the moment is, that among all the townsfolk assessed and among all the trades specified, not a single cutler is named. The nearest approach is one Johannes Coteler, assessed at the minimum sum of a groat. Yet we find cutlers, few, it is true, but prosperous, in the neighbouring Hallamshire villages—in Ecclesfield, Handsworth, and Tinsley. How, then, came Sheffield knives to be familiar to Chaucer?

As might be expected from what has been said, the part played by Sheffield in the events of national history has been but small. The clash of arms has only twice been heard within its borders. As an obscure episode in the Wars of the Barons, De Furnival's Castle (if it were indeed a castle) was burnt in 1266. There is no doubt of the reality of the castle, which, in 1644 was besieged by and surrendered to the Parliamentary forces. These two events, so far from impugning my demonstration of the teachings of the seclusion of Sheffield, strengthen it distinctly, because the intrusive castle, not the town, was in both cases the object of attack. The hostile forces turned out of their way to reduce a structure, which, though militarily obscure and unimportant, might be troublesome. Archæologically we must regret its demolition; but undoubtedly the Commonwealth, in razing the castle in 1648, was wise in removing what was useless in the keeping of friends, and could not be more than an irritating thorn in the hands of foes.

The imprisonment, here, for some fourteen years, of Mary Queen of Scots, is the only other notable point at which Sheffield touches the nation's history. This event re-echoes our old note, for undoubtedly Lord Shrewsbury's

fortalice was chosen, and remained much longer than any other place, Mary's prison, because of the seclusion of its situation. It combined the publicity which made attempts at rescue hopeless, with the obscurity engendering forgetfulness. "Out of sight, out of mind," was Elizabeth's hope; and whatever the effect on contemporaries, her device succeeded so far that until recently historians laid no stress on the fact that out of eighteen years of captivity, Mary spent fourteen in Sheffield.

The nestling retirement of situation once more stood Sheffield in good stead when, in 1745, Prince Charles Edward (who, if tradition may be believed, had found here convenient seclusion for secret conspiracies), poured south with his ragged following. The incursion of bare-legged Highlanders was heralded by frenzied stories of bloody atrocities marking their path. The legend that it was their favourite amusement to impale babies was so abundantly believed, that the infant ancestress of an alderman, who is one of our Vice-Presidents, was hidden in a hollow tree until these modern Herods should have passed by. But, like their ancestral Picts aforetime, the unkempt rabble pressed on without turning aside into Hallamshire. So sundry timid citizens who had incontinently abandoned hearth and home, crept back, shamefacedly, to endure the jeers of their bolder neighbours. Apart from any "moral and intellectual damage" caused by this raid, Sheffield's loss may be appraised at sevenpence. That was the fee paid by the Cutlers' Company to the bellman, when sent round to recall the Corporation to a meeting put off "on account of the Rebels being near us." No opportunity for conviviality at taverns was ever lost, and in a few months Culloden afforded legitimate excuse for rejoicings at "The Cock," accompanied by an expenditure of 1s. 7d. for beadles' cockades, and of 3d. for tobacco-pipes. Thus Sheffield emerged from the crisis cheaply, and without the inconveniences that were the lot of more obtrusive towns.

That, however, was the last time when modest seclusion worked for her good. In 1674, John Ogleby, "cosmographer to King Charles II," published 100 maps of the principal roads radiating from London to all parts

of England and Wales. It was on an iconographic plan, and the scale was generous enough to include complete details. Sheffield has no place in this elaborate survey of the kingdom. Its existence is contemptuously relegated to a note indicating a by-road at Nether Haugh, between Greasbrough and Wombwell, as leading "to Sheffield"—apparently the way through Wentworth and Chapeltown. The Cutlers' Company's accounts teem with payments for letters, sent by special messengers from places on the North road, where they were dropped by a postal service that did not condescend to come nearer. Since those days public effort has been largely directed towards overcoming the disadvantages of living, as it were, in a *cul de sac*. Throughout the eighteenth and the earlier part of the nineteenth centuries, canals and turnpike roads were fostered as means of deliverance. Within living memory, an enterprising purveyor of the London dailies could only get them here before their news was stale by a service of quick carts which waylaid the express coaches to the North. Even when the era of railways dawned, their pioneers, with strange infatuation, passed by on the other side. And it took many years to get Quarter Sessions to recognise, except as a humble payer of large tribute, the existence of a place with whom boroughs of prescriptive lineage, which Sheffield could, without inconvenience, put in its pocket, would hardly be on speaking terms. It is only in recent years that hoary prerogatives excluding numbers and wealth from due recognition in matters of magisterial and county business, have yielded to the irresistible force of modern facts.

It will, then, be readily understood why, in Sheffield itself, there are but few objects of archæological interest to attract examination by the Association. One reference in *Domesday* is all we know about Waltheof's Hall. One stone, with chevron moulding, is the only proof of a Norman church. One mention alone is there of an early castle—weakened by a contemporary document in which De Furnival himself calls it his house. You have had, this afternoon, an opportunity of judging for yourselves how little of the fifteenth-century church has come un-

scathed through long periods of neglect and many tinkering. The Shrewsbury monuments, after being in perils oft, and suffering much evil treatment, remain its most prized possession. The old Hall in the Ponds is, in its decadence, the only remnant of the appurtenances of a castle whose materials were effectually utilised to rebuild a town of wood in stone. And there is the Manor, whose Lodge, with its tragic memories, has been happily redeemed, by the ducal descendant of its builder, from the decay of the larger structure. Beyond these, and a timbered house here and there, what have we? The oldest thing, after our rivers, is probably that "goit" or mill race which, now relegated to the status of a sewer, fed the Lord's Mill from time immemorial. But, if I am asked to point out the most characteristic remnant of the Hallamshire of the remote past, I would indicate the survivals of the ancient grinding wheels which once studded our streams. These, the most typical relics of the old industrial conditions, have, by a tenacious conservatism, been handed down to us little changed; and I suppose the diligent enthusiast in the archæology of handicrafts might possibly find, hidden away, some archaic smithy, reminiscent, in its rudeness and its fittings, of the quaint structures where the rough apron-men of old fashioned, on their stithy stocks, the wares that made Sheffield famous.

Happily, Hallamshire in some sort atones for Sheffield's archæological poverty. Here we have Ecclesfield, Bradfield, Wincobank, Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Carbrook, and Templeborough. Worksop Priory and Wingfield Manor, though outside our boundaries, are in close historical association with our town. The fragments of the Premonstratensian Monastery of Beauchief (whose story, long ago told by Dr. Pegge, has been further unfolded by Mr. Sidney Oldall Addy), and the Cistercian Abbey of Roche, elucidated by the research of Dr. Aveling, are both on our programme. Your attention will be directed to other interesting examples of ecclesiastical architecture at Blyth, Steetly, Chesterfield and Rotherham. Had time and strength allowed, the Castles of Conisbro' and Tickhill might well have been included. Other shrines

there are, so sacred that into them the impious foot of the archæologist may not tread. Over the wild desolation of Carlswark, and the stern silence of the stone circles and earthworks of our moors, King Grouse holds sway more complete and lordly than that of Briton, or Roman, or Saxon. I trust, however, that even without an invasion of solitudes which give so striking an individuality to our locality, this visit will be both profitable and pleasant; and if the weather denies us the privilege of showing how largely we possess the cheerfulness of Mark Tapley, we, content in the consciousness of virtue, will bear with resignation the denial of opportunity for its display.





RICHARD MASTERS, PARSON OF ALDYNGTON,
1514 TO 1558.

By ALFRED DENTON CHENEY, Esq., F. R. Hist. S.



IN the following pages I purpose relating certain episodes in the life of Richard Masters; partly, because he furnishes us with a real example of that much-debated ecclesiastic, a Pre-Reformation parson; partly, because he was connected with one of the numerous troublous events of the time of Henry VIII; partly, because the narration will correct an error into which almost all historians have fallen, viz., that he perished upon the scaffold in 1534, as an accomplice of the Holy Maid of Kent.¹

In the year 1511 the rectory of Aldington, in Kent,² became vacant, and Archbishop Warham, in whose gift it was, bestowed it upon Erasmus, of whose learning and judgment he had formed a high opinion, but whose poverty was manifest. Erasmus had, however, scruples of conscience about retaining the living, seeing that his ignorance of the English vernacular practically unfitted him for the duties of a country parson, and he soon afterwards resigned. Temporarily the vacancy was filled by

¹ Even the learned and painstaking editors of the *Calendar of State Papers* have fallen into this error; for, in a footnote to a letter written by Masters to Cromwell (vol. vi, No. 1666), they say: "He was afterwards executed as an accomplice of the Nun of Kent."

² Locally "Aldington" is always pronounced as "Eldington," an example of the light which pronunciation so frequently throws upon ancient orthography. In Saxon times it was written as "Ealdintune" (the old town or settlement), and the original pronunciation has survived the change of spelling,

one of Warham's suffragans, Doctor Thornden, Bishop of Dover, with a charge upon the living of £20 per annum in favour of Erasmus: but eventually it was offered to and accepted by Richard Masters, M.A., subject to the same condition. Erasmus seems to have had some acquaintance with Masters, as he refers to him as "a young man, learned in Divinity, and of good and sober life" (*Works of Erasmus*, vol. v. p. 678).¹

The rectory of Aldington must have been an enviable position. One of the many manors in Kent which had belonged from early times to the See of Canterbury, it had been especially esteemed by a recent Archbishop (Morton) who had renovated and enlarged the archiepiscopal palace, and maintained the extensive park and chase attached thereto.² Several large mansions lay within the bounds of the parish, and the farmhouses bearing the old names still retain, externally and internally, many vestiges of their former grandeur. Moreover, the healthiness of the situation, the proximity of the sea, and the beauty of the surrounding country must have added largely to the comfort of the rector of Aldington. And Richard Masters was a man worthy of his office: every reference in the record of history to his life and work is in his praise, and

¹ For a full account of the connection of Erasmus with Aldington, see Mr. Purley's *The Weald of Kent*. He gives a most interesting letter, detailing Erasmus' reasons for resigning the preferment, and those of Archbishop Warham for urging the appointment upon him: which reflect credit upon both these true Reformers.

² Some idea of the magnificence of the Courthouse or Palace of Aldington at this time may be gathered from the Royal Survey made in 1608, in which it is stated that there were no less than five kitchens, nine barns, six stables, seven fodder-houses, and eight dove-houses. The demesne lands, including the park, exceeded 1,000 acres. The Report states that the buildings stand on an eminence not far from the sea, without shelter, and would always necessitate a large outlay for repairs. Evidently its decadence dates from that time; till now the only vestiges that remain are the outlines of three or four Gothic windows, that probably lighted the refectory (or the chapel, as stated in the guide-books). It is unfortunate that the Tudor front of the house fell some forty years ago, and was not rebuilt. The modern house, which stands on the site, presents practically no connecting link with its past glories.



ALDINGTON CHURCH AND REMAINS OF ARCHBISHOPAL PALACE.



REMAINS OF ARCHBISHOPAL PALACE ; NOW A FARMHOUSE.

he comes down to us as an example of the English clergy of Pre-Reformation days, of whom Dr. Jessopp tells us: "From the Conquest to the Reformation, it is noticeable that they never ceased to retain the confidence and esteem of their people from first to last" (*The Great Pillage*, p. 107).¹ As we shall presently see, he was a student and a scholar: indeed, when we consider the comparative scarcity and the value of books in the sixteenth century, he possessed quite a library; whilst the furniture of his



The lower portion of the Tower of Aldington Church, showing details.

parsonage would denote him to have been a lover of hospitality. It was during his rule as rector that the fine

¹ Nor must it be assumed that Masters was an exception to the general run of parish priests. Erasmus, outspoken Reformer that he was, gave high praise to English ecclesiastics for their single-minded devotion to their duties; and Dr. Jessopp, a great authority upon pre-Reformation subjects, amply vindicates the Catholic parochial clergy against the aspersions of writers who would have us believe that their ignorance and neglect of their duties formed a potent cause of the "Reformation." (Vide *The Parish Priest in England before the Reformation*.)

tower of Aldington Church, a landmark for many miles around, was almost wholly erected. Commenced in 1507, its progress was slow; but with the whole-hearted pride and affection of the English people before the Reformation for their parish churches, it gradually rose from its foundations as contributions and bequests came in: Thomas Godfrey, of Ruffins Hill, hard by, died there in 1490, and he had left £20 for works connected with the church. Thomas Cobbe, of Goldwells, at the foot of the hill, devised legacies in 1521, expressly for the building of the new steeple and the new window in the north side of the chancel. Thomas Blechynden, of Simnells, left a legacy towards the building of the tower and the insertion of a south window: and so, step by step, the rector must have watched the erection of this noble work. It was never completed. Fifty years after its commencement it reached its present height, but the times of fierce religious strife had supplanted those of religious unity; and this is but one of numerous instances in every county in England in which great parochial works were abandoned in the middle of the sixteenth century — a period far more noted, or notorious, for the robbery and spoliation of the national churches than for their erection or repair.

In 1525 an event occurred in Aldington, which changed the whole current of the peaceful life of its rector. Amongst his parishioners was one Thomas Cobbe, the bailiff or steward of the archiepiscopal estates. He was probably a scion of the family of that name who had resided at Goldwells since the time of Edward the Fourth; that the office he held was of importance may be gathered from the fact that the tenants or the manor at the time of the Royal Survey in 1608 (the estates having become the property of the Crown by "exchange" between Cranmer and Henry VIII), exceeded 200, and included 18 Kentish knights, their respective holdings amounting to 6,000 acres in 23 parishes, exclusive of 44 denes (ancient enclosures) in the Weald (Purley's *Weald of Kent*)¹ His house still stands: a half-timbered

¹ An additional evidence of the importance of the post is afforded by the fact that, when the manor passed into the hands of Henry VIII, a

building called Cobb Hall. His servant was a young girl, a native of the village, named Elizabeth Barton; and at this period she was subject to fits or trances, during which she saw visions and uttered prophecies. This is not the occasion on which to discuss her history; suffice it to say, in brief, that her fame spread far and wide, and not only Richard Masters, her parish priest, but Archbishop Warham and the good and saintly Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, believed in the reality of her communings with supernatural powers. A great religious revival took place in the district, and pilgrimages were made to the chapel of the Blesed Virgin Mary, at the neighbouring hamlet of Courtup-strete, where she had apparently been cured of her bodily infirmities. Thomas Cobbe would no longer permit her to remain in a menial capacity, but treated her as one of the family; and shortly afterwards she became a Benedictine nun at the convent of St. Sepulchre's, Canterbury. Little did Richard Masters dream, when in 1525, Elizabeth Barton quitted Aldington for the convent, the object of the respectful veneration of the whole countryside, that that had happened which, in a few short years, should bring him to ruin and all but death. In 1533, eight years after the "miracle" at Courtupstrete, the heavy hand of the King fell upon the Nun of Kent. He had known of her reputation, but thought or cared little for her prophecies, until she began to denounce himself and his conduct towards his Queen in the matter of the divorce; the affair was of itself difficult to carry through, and the active opposition of one so venerated by the people as a divinely-guided prophetess was intolerable. Moreover, the crafty Cromwell saw how to implicate others in high position, such as Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, in a conspiracy to trade upon the superstitious credulity of the vulgar. Quickly and secretly the

few years later, the Treasurer of his Household, Sir Thomas Cheney, added the office of High Steward and Keeper of the King's Park at Aldington to his numerous other appointments (Hasted's *History of Kent*). (He was also Constable of Saltwood Castle, Keeper of the mansion of Westenhanger, Chief Steward of Chilham manor, and Master of the Deer in Lymynge Park, besides being Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.)

blow was struck. Not only the Nun herself and those who had been implicated in the opposition to the divorce, but all who had, at any time and in any manner, however remote, been privy to her prophecies, were to be seized and condemned. In the autumn of 1533, Cranmer¹ wrote "To the Prioress of St. Sepulchre's, Canterbury. Sister Prioresss, in my hearty wise I commend me unto you. And so likewise will that you do repair unto me to the manor of Orteforde, and bring with you your nun which was sometime at Courtupstrete against Wednesday next, and that ye fail not herein in anywise. Thus fare you well" (*Cranmer's Remains*, letter xxx). About the same time orders were given to arrest Dr. Bocking, Cellarer of Christ Church, Canterbury, and Richard Masters, as the two ecclesiastics most concerned in the spiritual guidance of Elizabeth Barton; the latter as the parish priest of her Aldington days, the former as her director since her entering the religious life. The charges against them were of knowing that she was an impostor, and aiding and abetting her to their own advantage. On September 25th we find Christopher Hales writing to Cromwell from Canterbury:—"I send up Bokkyng (Cellarer of Christ Church)² and Dudley. . . . These things have been handled as secretly as possible. The official is yet in the country, keeping his visitation; you shall be sure to have him on his return. . . . To-morrow I ride for the parson of Aldynton, whom I will also send" (*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. vi, No. 1149). And four days later he writes again: "Till now I could not conveniently get together the official and parson of Aldyngton, whom now I send to you. The parson is a man of good fame, and if the official have not offended in the manner presupposed, I can speak largely for his honesty" (*Calendar*, vol. vi, No. 1169). The two priests were committed to the Tower, where they were apparently strictly interrogated as to the persons

¹ Warham had died in 1532.

² The Cellarer of an abbey was an important official, one of the four principal officers: his duties involving the housekeeping and internal management of the affairs of the community.

with whom they had conversed upon the subject. In the *Calendar of State Papers* for 1533 we have the following Deposition (vol. vi, No. 1468). "Mr. Richard Mayster showed the revelation and declaration concerning the King's reign to Oliver Wilkinson his priest (*i.e.*, curate) at Aldyngton; Sir William, priest of Our Lady Chapel at Courte of Strete. . . . Dr Bocking showed the revelation . . . to the priors of Leeds and Horeton." On November 23rd they were placed upon a high platform at St. Paul's Cross, London, together with Elizabeth Barton and a number of other implicated parties, and put to public humiliation before a vast concourse of spectators, as impostors, the Nun reading aloud a "confession of guilt."¹ They were then sent back to the Tower, but a little later Masters was evidently removed to Canterbury, his health broken down by the terrible experience he had undergone. On December 10th, Lee and Bedyll (neither of them men of marked humanitarian feelings) write to Cromwell from Canterbury, begging an answer "touching the Parson of Aldington, as if we carry him to London again he will miscarry by the way" (*Calendar*, vol. vi, No. 1512). What was the reply we may gather from a letter written, six days later, by Cranmer to Cromwell, as follows: "The Parson of Aldington and the Monk Dering² were this Tuesday at night delivered unto me at my manor at Forde;" and he desires to know whether it is Cromwell's pleasure that they "shall be put at liberty in their own houses upon sufficient surety," or "to ward and safe keeping" (Cranmer's "*Remains*," letter clviii).³ Apparently they were kept in custody during the four months that elapsed from the execution of Elizabeth Barton (April

¹ I purpose dealing with the matter of Elizabeth Barton in a subsequent Paper upon the Chapel at Court-at-Street.

² The monk Dering seems to have been a man of good birth, probably one of the old Kentish family of that name. His lodging lay on the west side of the cloister of Christ Church, Canterbury, into which it had a double door, having in the window his name, coat-of-arms, and rebus.

³ The archiepiscopal palace at Ford seems to have been a favourite residence of Cranmer's. Its scanty ruins lie near the village of Herne (in the vicinity of the better-known Herne Bay).

20th, 1534) at Tyburn for high treason, together with several ecclesiastics (amongst them the Monk Dering), whose names appear in the Bill of Attainder passed through Parliament by Cromwell; the proceedings before the judges having proved abortive, and the Government apparently not caring to risk a trial during which the accused parties could be heard in their own defence. Richard Masters was included in the list of the unfortunate men, and, it is generally stated by historians that he suffered death with them.¹ This, however, was not the case. It may have been his high reputation for single-hearted honesty of purpose which touched the heart of Cromwell (let us hope that it was, for history has but few good deeds to report of him); but it is certain that the influence of the all-powerful favourite was exercised in his favour, and he was for the time respited. Richard Masters writes gratefully to Cromwell: "Bearing in mind the amiable words you spoke on my behalf before the Council, I was bold to write to you, desiring you to have pity upon me that I may be at my poor benefice, and answer such duties and debts as I am charged with. I have spent all that I had in my great trouble" (*Calendar*, vol. vii, No. 71). In July of that same year (1534) amongst the Royal Grants we have the following entry, viz.:—Richard Masters, rector of Aldington, Kent; Pardon and remission of his attainder—passed in the Parliament holden at Westminster from January 15 to March 30 last; with restitution of goods and possessions. Hampton Court, June 28, 26 Henry VIII. Del. Westminster, July 8;" and the grateful Parson writes to Cromwell: "I am much bound to you for your goodness in expediting my pardon, for which I cannot recompense you. I send you two gold royals" (*Calendar*, vol. vi, No. 1666). N.B.—This letter, which is not dated, is evidently in its wrong place in the *Calendar of State Papers*. It should have been among those of 1534, not 1533). And so, after much humilia-

¹ "The nun, Boeking, Dering, Rich, Masters and Golde, were hanged at Tyburn, 20th April, 1554" (Stowe, *Annals*; Strype, *Memorials*). This is incorrect with regard to Rich as well as Masters. Ireland and Hasted both represent Masters as amongst those executed.

tion and suffering, and many months of imprisonment and anxiety, Richard Masters returned to his parsonage, his books, and his household treasures, a free man.

But although he escaped the gallows on that fateful day, April 20, 1534, it would appear that the authorities had not then intended to let him go scot-free, for in the *Calendar of State Papers* (vol. vii., No. 521) we find an inventory of his goods and chattels at Aldington Parsonage, dated on that very day. It affords us so excellent an idea of the possessions of a Pre-Reformation country parson in the first half of the sixteenth century, that I have copied it *in extenso*:

INVENTORY.

Plate.—Twelve silver spoons.

In the Hall.—Two tables and two forms, a painted cloth, a green banker, a laton laver.

In the Parlour.—A hanging of gold and green say, a banker of woven carpet, two cushions, a table, two forms, a cupboard, a chair, three painted pictures, a paper of the names of the Kings of England pinned to the hanging.

In the Chamber on the North side of the Parlour.—A painted hanging, a “bedstedyll” with a feather-bed, a bolster, two pillows, a blanket, coverlet of coarse tapestry, a tester of red and green say, two forms, a jack to set a bason on.

In the Chamber over the Parlour.—Two bedsteads, an old tester of painted cloth, three forms.

At the Stairhead beside the Parson’s Lodging Chamber.—A table, two trestles, four beehives.

In the Parson’s Lodging Chamber.—A bedstead with a feather-bed, two blankets, a pair of sheets, a coverlet of tapestry lined with canvas, bolster, a pillow with a “pillcote,” a violet cloth gown lined with red say, a black cloth gown furred with lamb, three violet cloth hoods, one being lined with green sarsenet, a jerkin of tauny chamlett, a jerkin of cloth furred with white, a jacket of cloth, furred, a sheet to put clothes in, a press, a leather male; a table, two forms, three chairs, two trestles, a tester of painted cloth, a piece of green say hanging with two pictures thereupon, a cupboard, two chests, a little flock bed with a bolster and coverlet, a cushion, a mantle, a towel, 1 lb. of wax candles, forty-two great books covered with boards, thirty-three small books, covered with boards; thirty-eight

books covered with leather and parchment; in the ship-chest in the said chamber, two pieces of red and green say, one tick for a bolster, two ticks for pillows, a cloth tippet, two diaper napkins, two diaper towels, nine sheets, two tablecloths; in the other chest, a sarcenet tippet, two coats belonging to the cross of Rudhill, whereupon hang 33 pieces of money, rings and other things, and two crystal stones closed in silver.

In the Study.—Two old boxes, a wicker hamper full of papers.

In the Chamber beyond the Chimney.—1½ seme of oat malt, a rat trap, and a board.

In the next Chamber Westward.—A bedstead and bedding, a table, a net called a stalker, two augers, etc.

In the Buttery.—Three pewter basons, five candlesticks, three “podyngers,” three “Kelters,” a glass bottle, etc.

In the Priest’s Chamber.—A bedstead and feather-bed, two forms, and a press.

In the Woman’s Keeping.—Two tablecloths, two pairs of sheets.

In the Servant’s Chamber.—A painted hanging bedstead

In the Kitchen.—Eight bacon flitches, a brewing lead, a posnett, a mustard quern, a beehive, and other articles.

In the Milkhouse.—Six bowls, two cheeses three podyngers, etc.

In the Bulting-house. — A brass pan, a quern, a bulting-hutch, a tolvett, a tonnell, etc.

In the Larder.—A sieve, a cheese press, a graper for a well, etc.

Wood.—Ten loads of tallwood, ten and a-half of rise-wood.

Poultry.—Nine hens, eight capons, one cock, sixteen young chickens, three old geese, seventeen goslings, four ducks.

Cattle.—Five young hogs called shettes, two red kine, a red heifer, two years old, a bay gelding, lame of spasms, an old grey mare with a mare colt.

In the Entry.—Two tubs, a chest to keep conies, etc.

In the Lime-house.—Five seams of lime.

In the Woman’s Chamber.—A bedstead, and 20 lb. of hempen yarn.

Without the House.—1,500 tiles, 500 bricks, etc.

In the Gatehouse.—A fan, a leather sack, three bushels of wheat.

In the Stable beside the Gate.—Two old road saddles, a bridle, a horsebock (? horse block).

In the Barn next the Gate.—30 qrs. unthreshed wheat, 5 qrs. unthreshed barley.



THE OLD PARSONAGE AND SOUTH-WEST VIEW OF CHURCH.



THE OLD PARSONAGE, NOW DIVIDED INTO TENEMENTS.

In the Cartlage (Cart-lodge).—"One weene with two whyles" (one wain or wagon with two wheels); a dung-cart without wheels, two yokes, one sled.

In the Barn next the Church.—19 qrs. unthreshed oats.

In the Gardener.—Three seams, four bushels oats.

In the Court.—Two racks, one ladder.

All the tithes of this Easter are in the hands of the Parishioners.¹

The parsonage-house is still standing, though long since disused as a clerical residence (Purley, in his *Weald of Kent*, makes some severe remarks touching the clerical non-residence which he alleges had been a marked feature at Aldington since the Reformation until quite recent times); it is now divided into tenements. The main features of the house remain intact; the gatehouse and stable and barn beside the gate have gone; but the barn next the church, and an adjoining cart-shed, which was probably the "cartlage" above referred to, remain in an excellent state of preservation. In its leading features, therefore, the old parsonage probably represents very fairly the building inhabited by Richard Masters, and possibly for some short period, by his renowned predecessor, Erasmus. In fact, the whole of this portion of Aldington—farmhouses, cottages, etc.—remains practically

¹ The inventory of the contents of the Parsonage shows a higher degree of comfort and civilisation than would be considered possible from the generally-received ideas as to the domestic conveniences of our sixteenth-century forefathers. To say nothing of bedsteads, featherbeds, pillows and sheets, we have tablecloths, napkins, and silver spoons. The number and size of the parson's books will also excite surprise.

The "priest's chamber" was evidently occupied by the curate (Oliver Wilkinson), and as the woman-servant apparently slept in one of the off-buildings, it is probable that the "servant's chamber," with its "hanging bedstead" (? a hammock), was occupied by the man who tended the horses, cattle and poultry.

The "bulting-house" was the place where the corn was ground in the quern, the bran separated from the flour, and the latter placed in the tub ready for use.

The coats belonging to the "cross of Rudhill" (! Rood Hill) were probably vestments occasionally used in open-air services in Lent at a wayside crucifix (though I cannot trace any such name at present existing in the neighbourhood of Aldington).

A "bedstedyll" (bedstead), "keler" (tub), and "shottes" (young hogs), are terms still used in some of the Kentish villages.

as it was three hundred years ago; with the exception, of course, of the Archiepiscopal palace.

It will be remembered that the gift of the living was encumbered by a condition that Erasmus should receive a yearly pension of £20. Now this was equivalent to some £300 to £400 of our money,¹ a large sum to be charged upon the revenue of the benefice; and after the heavy expenses incurred in obtaining his pardon, Masters seems to have been unable wholly to fulfil his engagements. Erasmus, however, proved a hard and unsympathetic creditor; and a curious and interesting letter is extant written by him from Basle, dated March 15th, 1536, to Cromwell, complaining that he could not get his pension (*Calendar*, vol. x, No. 478). The priest of Aldington had paid half last year, promising to pay the whole in future. This year, however, he had paid nothing, pleading distress, but he (Erasmus) does not see why he should suffer, not being the cause thereof. Moreover, Masters denies that he consented to a regular pension, though he paid it sometimes during Warham's lifetime. Erasmus ends with the grim suggestion that Cromwell "could do much to help him by three words!" I cannot trace any record of the result; but we may well imagine that if Cromwell uttered those "three words," poor Richard Masters would have sold all that he had, rather than once again fall under the displeasure of the all-powerful Vicar-General.

Once more Richard Masters approached the very verge of trouble: for, in 1543, amongst the numerous depositions made to Cranmer against various clergymen of Kent, we find him presented upon the following counts, viz.:—That he never preached in his church at Alyngton (Aldington) nor Smeth (Smeeth, some three or four miles distant), against the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, nor set forth the King's supremacy. 2. He has been a great

¹ "The present value of revenues cannot be taken at less than fifteen times the amount returned in 1534" (Taylor's *Index. Monas.*, *Introduction*); also footnote on same page (xxvi). "This proportion appears to agree with the comparative prices of labour at the same period." Taylor wrote in 1821, so that the comparative value would now be considerably higher.

setter-forth in his parish of the Maid of Kent, pilgrimages, feigned relics, and other superstitions, and yet never resented nor reproved the same. 3. He has not declared to his parishioners that the eves of such holy days as be abrogated be no longer fasting days. On the Sundays, Candlemas Day, Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, and Good Friday, he has not declared the true use of the ceremonies used on those days, according to the King's proclamation. The "aggrieved parishioners" who signed this document were James Blechynden¹ and William Benefelde, gentlemen; Mr. Everynge, John Knight, James Toft, with other (*Calendar*, vol. xviii, Pt. II., page 301.)

Of the rest of his life we know little. He was evidently still rector of Aldington in 1552, as his name appears in the "Inventory of Church Goods taken by Royal Authority in that year;"² and as his successor, John

¹ The Blechyndens seem to have been a somewhat turbulent family. Amongst the Royal grants of January, 1539, we find "William Blechynden, of Aldington, Kent, alias of London, Pardon of all murders, homicides, etc., committed before the 15 Octr., 30 Henry VIII. Grenewyche, 30 Dec. 30 Hen. VIII."

² Inventory of Church Goods. 2nd Dec., 1552 (6 : Edw. VI.). Aldington. Richard Master, parson; Wm. Smyth and Rich. Ellys, churchwardens; Wm. Halke, inhabitant:—

First: a vestment of blew velvet with the albe.

Item, 2 other vestments, one of blew damaske and the other of green balkyn with a silkyn crosse.

„ 3 copez, the one of blew velvet, the second of blew sarcenet with starrez, and the third of grene balkyn.

„ 2 surplez (surplices).

„ a chalice of silver waying nyne unces and a-half.

„ a crosse of lattyn, with the cloth, and the staffe.

„ 2 lattyn candlestiks, and an altar-cloth.

„ 2 towells.

„ 3 bells in the steeple.

(Public Record Office, Exch. Q. R. Ch.
Goods, Kent. 3/37.)

"Lattyn" was the material of which monumental brasses were made: it was largely used for candlesticks, bowls, and other church ornaments. The missals and old service books had been removed in 1550. The "cloth" for the "crosse" was the covering placed over the crucifix (commonly called the cross) during Lent.

Caldwell, was not appointed until 1558, that may reasonably be considered as the date of his death. He passed, therefore, through the critical times of Henry VIII, Edward VI. and Mary, dying probably just before the drastic changes in religion which followed the succession of Elizabeth to the throne. Let us hope that the latter years of his life compensated somewhat for the stormy period of his middle age.





SOME EARLY DEFENSIVE EARTHWORKS OF THE SHEFFIELD DISTRICT.

BY I. CHALKLEY GOULD, Esq.

(Read August 14th, 1903.)



Of those members of the British Archæological Association who heard me at Buxton and Leicester, I must apologise for harping on the same string in my remarks to-night; my excuse must be, my desire in every locality to urge the importance of preserving the remains of defensive earthworks. We all know, only too well, how many interesting relics of Celtic, Roman, Saxon, and later periods, have been ruthlessly swept away in the course of agricultural and other operations; landowners, farmers, builders, railway companies, and even the War Office, have aided in the work; and it is only by an increase of public interest that we can hope to stem the tide of destruction, and so preserve to futurity these priceless relics of our country's story.

The "story" may be hard to piece together, and sometimes we may err in our conclusions; but it is worth while to preserve every evidence of the far-away past for those who will follow us in the generations to come, and may, with fuller knowledge, complete the story.

The Committee for recording Ancient Defensive Works divides fortresses into certain classes, and those classes are largely in chronological order; but it must never be forgotten that the form or plan of a fortress is not positive evidence of its place in time, for the earliest forms are repeated in later works where the shape of the land and the circumstance of the occasion lent themselves to such formations.

First amongst early fortresses the Committee places those which, being partly inaccessible by reason of

precipices, cliffs, or water, are additionally defended by artificial banks or walls.

Owing to lack of local knowledge (which I much deplore) I cannot say whether you have any bold promontory cut off from its mainland by artificial works of defence; but you have, only eight or nine miles to the west, a somewhat similar and most remarkable fortress.

CARL'S WARK.

Of this I have said so much,¹ and Mr. S. O. Addy has so eloquently written,² that I hesitate to occupy your time, but it cannot be omitted from my remarks on early defensive works near Sheffield.

I know no ancient fortress which presents so weird a picture of loneliness and desolation. It has been likened to "an immense blackened altar," an aspect well shown in an illustration in Mr. Addy's book, *The Hall of Waltheof*.

Imagine a vast table with a rock-strewn area of about 600 ft. by from 150 to 200 ft., rising high above a boggy moor, its rocky sides of dark millstone-grit perpendicular on the north, and partly so on the east and south, while on the west a more gradual slope descends to the moor. Across the narrower western end, where the precipice was lacking, the builders cast up a rampart of earth, facing it outside with a wall of stones. This remarkable dry-built wall remains tolerably perfect on this, the one weak side of the fort, which is further protected by scarping the western slope. Along the base of this scarping the way of access wound up to a path, still hedged in by walls of masonry, passing at the south-west angle into the fort, by a remarkable passage splendidly defended.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson says:—

"It is 7 ft. 2 in. in breadth, and as the road ascending from the valley below passed between the two curvilinear faces of the wall which formed the entrance passage, an enemy advancing to force the gate was exposed to the missiles of the besieged on both sides; while the portion of it to the west, projecting like a round

¹ *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. vii, N. S., plan, p. 18; *Derbyshire A. and N. H. S.*, vol. xxv.

² S. O. Addy, *The Hall of Waltheof*, 1893.

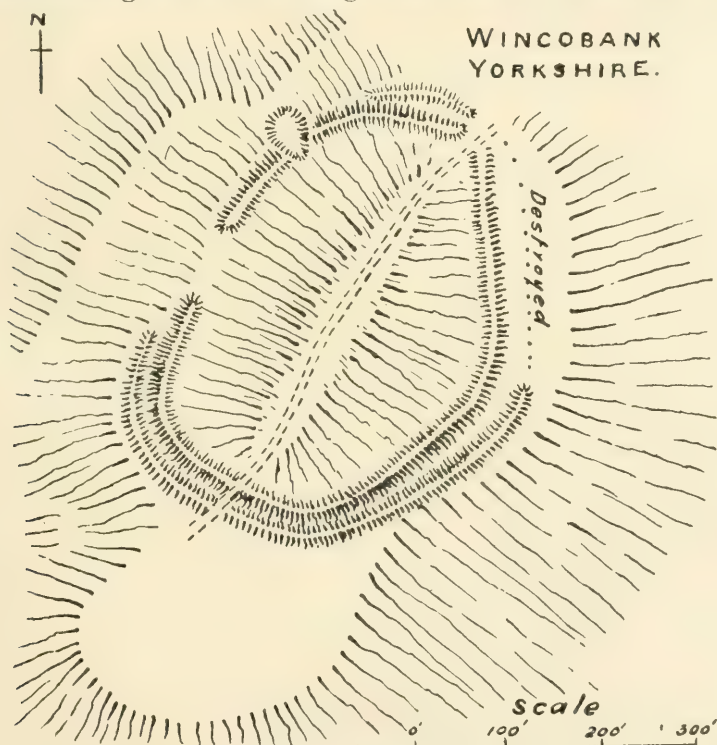
tower, raked the face of the wall to right and left, and formed an advance work over the ascent."¹

How long a time has passed since the spot was fortified we cannot say, but there can be no doubt that the name "Carl's Wark" is evidence that to the Norseman who so christened it, the fortress was an archaic work belonging to a misty past, long anterior to his own era.

Next in order in the Earthwork Committee's scheme we find:—"Fortresses on hill-tops, with artificial defences following the natural line of the hill." Such an one you have at

WINCOBANK.

Much time could be occupied in talking about this commanding fort of the Brigantes, but Mr. Howarth has



so ably depicted its leading features that little remains to be said by me.

¹ *Reliquary*, vol. i, 1860.

It has been claimed as Roman by some antiquaries, but no one who has studied the principles of castrametation adopted by the imperial rulers of Britain can imagine them constructing Wincobank; though they may, of necessity, have occupied it for a time to keep less desirable occupants out of it.

Cobbett, in his *Rural Rides*, I think, describes Sheffield as—a place we must not name in polite society; but, alluding to the beauty of the valleys which radiate from the town, he said it was “in the arms of angels.” Alas! one has now to go a long way along the arms before reaching the “angel” portion, for your city grows, and carries its forges, factories, and slums afar; and one looks from Wincobank’s heights, on one side at least, on to the painful evidences of the modern hunt for wealth.

All the more reason that this summit and its immediate surroundings should be spared; and I may take this opportunity to urge upon those who control the destinies of this city, to use their utmost efforts to secure the preservation of the hill and camp: not only of the camp, but of all the slopes leading to it, so that the grim evidences of modern civilisation may approach no nearer, and that the bits of woodland, remaining here and there, may be preserved. The property belongs to the Duke of Norfolk, and I do not think you will find him unappreciative of the importance of retaining this valuable relic of the pre-Roman era.

Mr. J. D. Leader, speaking of the great earthwork and its associated vallum, says:—“So enormous is the work that by our Saxon and Danish ancestors its origin was deemed supernatural, and so ancient that its ridge became for some distance the boundary between the parishes of Sheffield and Ecclesfield. Upon this eminence doubtless stood a Brigantian city, or hill-fortress.”¹

Personally, I should think that it was, like so many contemporary works, a camp of refuge, to be used mainly when war was rampant in the land. When peace reigned the tribesmen would dwell in the vales below,

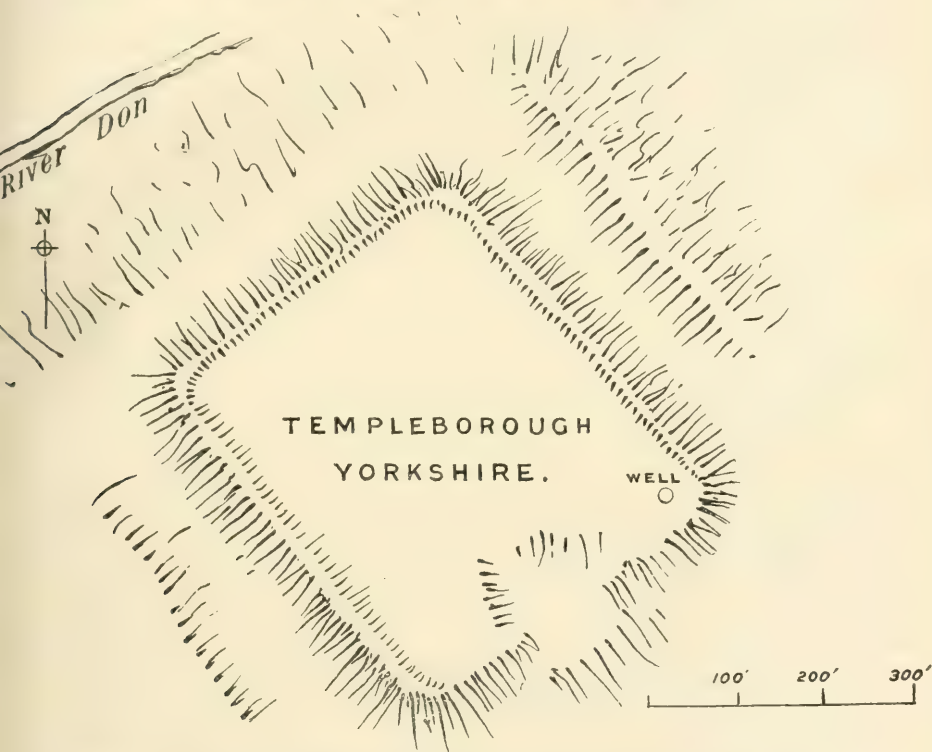
¹ Guest (J.), *Historic Notices, Rotherham*. 1879.

where they could find pasture for beasts and grow food for themselves.

Of its importance as a frontier fortress there can be no question, and we ask, How came its fall from its high estate? The answer lies in the Valley of the Don, where poor remnants may still be traced of the once-important Roman fortress now known as

TEMPLEBOROUGH.

Marching northward, the soldiers of Rome probably found the track, winding through the Don valley,



barred by the Brigantes from their stronghold on Winco-bank; quietly, methodically, the masters of war threw up their protecting banks of stones and earth, forming the usual rectangular "camp." Exactly what fighting ensued we know not, but we know that the Brigantes

yielded, and the excavations of 1877 (recorded by Mr. J. B. Leader in Guest's *Rotherham*) show that the Roman leaders found it wise to establish a permanent station.

I pleaded for the preservation of the whole hill of Wincobank, but what can we say of Templeborough? Is there anything left to preserve?

I think there is; and, fortunately, the builders have not yet annexed the area of this old Roman station or town.

The explorations to which I have already referred show that it became a place of importance, for the explorers found remains of the *prætorium*, columns of stone, tiles, pottery, and many relics, indubitable proofs of continued occupation under the Roman rule; and one find of special importance is recorded by Mr. Leader—a tile bearing the stamp of the fourth cohort of the Gauls: the cohort whose headquarters were afterwards at Vindolana by the Hadrian Wall.

It is hard to find traces of the protecting wall or rampart now, but from what remained Mr. Leader suggested the likelihood that later occupants, a ruder race than the Romans (men who raised no stone buildings), threw up earthen ramparts on the line of the old Roman works.

Linked with this station by a military road was the one which we now call

BROUGH.

It is situated about 11 miles west of Sheffield, and retains more traces of its surrounding rampart, but in area it is only some 310 ft. by 270 ft.

Two roads met here, and numerous remains of Roman occupation have been found, "silent witnesses of the perseverance of the Roman people, in penetrating to the most remote districts of the land they subjugated."

It is good news that systematic excavations of the camp are to be made under the auspices of the Derbyshire Archaeological Society, for it is evident that important structural remains lie beneath the surface at Brough. The Derbyshire Society needs some financial assistance to enable it to carry on this important ex-

ploration; and as the site is not far from here, perhaps I may suggest that some of the wealthy inhabitants of Sheffield should contribute towards this good work.

When the crumbling Roman Empire abandoned its hold on Britain, early in the fifth century, there began the long series of battles and fights in which first northern enemies and afterwards Saxons destroyed the native rule. It is a page of history of which we know little, though Gildas and other early writers record as facts events which may be the offspring of fiction. One old tale must be briefly mentioned because it has a local interest. Gildas relates how Hengist, the Saxon leader, determined by statagem to overcome the British king Vortigern; how he invited the King, his nobles, and others to a feast; how, in violation of his promise, Hengist ordered his followers to come to the feast secretly armed; and how, at a given signal, the unarmed British guests were set upon and slain, to the number of 300, and how King Vortigern was made a captive.

From another source we hear of the Britons' vengeance for this dastardly deed. Ambrosius Aurelianus, elected king by the Britons, fought a desperate battle with the Saxons upon a plain hard by Mexborough, defeated them, and carried Hengist himself to a castle at Conisborough, and there struck off his head. So runs the legend.

"MOUNT AND COURT" FORTS.

The next class of fortress which claims attention is most important: I refer to those "Mount and Court" strongholds which are found so abundantly, and which have been the subject of much controversy.

The late G. T. Clark and those who adopt his opinion hold these works to be of Saxon, or in some cases of Danish origin. Some modern writers, notably Mr. J. Horace Round, Mr. George Nielson, Mrs. Armitage, and recently Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, contend vigorously for a Norman parentage.

For my part, I think that the economic conditions of the Norman settlement amongst hostile Saxons *alone* can account for the vast majority of these little private castles, the offspring of the feudal system, but one is not

prepared to say that none existed ere the Norman William came; indeed, it is generally admitted that a few were creations under Norman influence in Edward the Confessor's days, and even Ordericus Vitalis, whose words have been much quoted, does not say there were no castles in England at the time of the Conquest.

But the question is, Did mount forts exist prior to Edward's reign? Personally, I cannot imagine that fortified mounts and border watch towers were utterly unknown in the land, through the whole period from the days of the Romans to the eleventh century.

I may pass at once to say that there is in this part of South Yorkshire a most interesting series of "mount and court" forts; some possessing now earthworks only, others with more or less of the masonry which replaced the original wooden defences.

LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN

claims first attention, for here we have a typical little "mount and court" stronghold; the high mount once crowned by a palisade of wood encircling the space around a central tower or hall, from which a wide expanse of country was visible. Another palisade ran along the top of the rampart which surrounds the base-court or "bailey," and there are signs of the previous existence of ramparts to a second or outer court, within which probably stood the huts of the peasantry and the church. Some portion of the present church is of so early a date, that it may well be of Edward's time, or before. The high keep mound and the base-court still retain the fosse, or ditch, and the outer court shows signs of its presence.

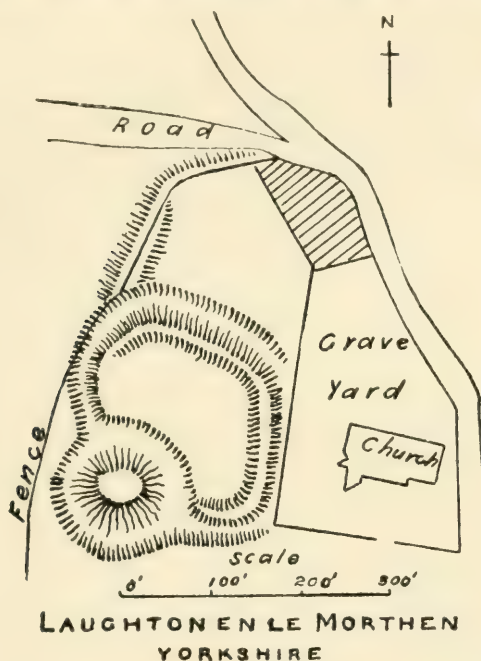
The Bayeux Tapestry gives a picture of the mound fort at Dinan, which materially helps us to understand the construction of such works.

"Below, on the left, is an outer gate or barbican, guarded by turrets on either side; then a ladder-like bridge over the moat, to an entrance-tower or stage, no doubt protecting the main gate to the high stockaded keep. Against the inner side of the stockade wall a fighting platform of wood or earth must run, of sufficient elevation to enable the defenders to throw missiles over or through

the roughly-indicated embrasures. Within the protected area is a hall, probably plastered, surmounted by a tiled roof."¹

Laughton is interesting beyond the other forts to be referred to, because it is mentioned in *Domesday* as the place where Count Edwin had his hall, "*ibi hb comes Edwin aulā.*" Did this entry in the Great Survey refer to this earthwork fortress?

Much might be said on either side, but on the whole I see no reason why so important a man as the brother-in-



law of Harold, a lord of great territory, a man in close touch with the Court, should not have been sufficiently imbued with Norman notions to adopt Norman methods in constructing his house-place. Too much weight, however, must not be attached to the quotation from *Domesday*, as "halls" are sometimes mentioned as located in places where now no traces of earthworks remain.

As Edwin's story is well known, I need only say that,

¹ *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. vii, N. S., p. 31.

treacherous to William as he had probably been to Harold, he perished, and his great fee of Laughton passed to Roger de Busli. That astute individual does not seem to have found Laughton to his requirements, and he probably in more modern fashion constructed

TICKHILL,

the fortress which still remains near Bawtry. He does not seem to have emparked any land around it; indeed, an absentee landlord's life was necessary to a man holding a vast number of manors scattered over England and Normandy, and he probably regarded his castle of Tickhill as a necessity for use on occasion only.

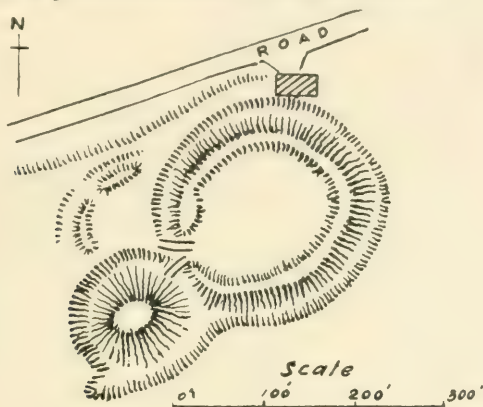
Stone-work of later date has replaced De Busli's wooden walls of Tickhill, and alterations have somewhat obscured the original plan; but enough remains to lead me to think that it, like Conisbrough, is of later date, as well as of more importance, than Laughton and some others, though it retains evidence of its being essentially a "mount and court" fortress. If we touch on the later stone castle of Tickhill, we shall go beyond our subject; but the work of a portion of the gateway is so early, that it seems to date from very soon after De Busli's acquisition of the lordship.

MEXBOROUGH

probably became the head of one portion of De Busli's lordship of Tickhill, as we find there a fine example of the small feudal fortress. Here, as at Laughton, all sign of wooden defence has gone, and no stonework takes its place: thus we have but the great walls and mount of earth to tell any tale. It is so well defined and preserved that one may urge the owner to save it from destruction. It is situated at the Doncaster end of Mexborough, among fields, but the town is growing terribly close to the spot. Not only has this fortress the usual high mount, truncated to afford space for the keep or hall, and moated all round, and the usual base-court with its rampart and fosse, but also a curious little lunette-shaped banked enclosure (as shown on the plan).

It has been suggested that the latter was for the protection of cattle or flocks, but the space is far too circumscribed for this purpose, and I think we have here the remains of a protected entrance-way: a sort of barbican, moated, banked and palisaded, which projected to guard the entrance to the fortress.

There is now no second or outer "bailey," but the field on the west shows traces of a considerable amount of ditching, and some ramparting, which may indicate the existence of a protected court on that side.



MEXBOROUGH CASTLE
YORKSHIRE

BRADFIELD,

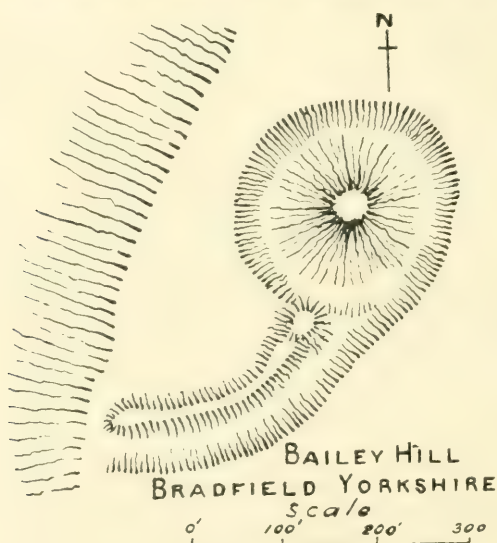
situated amidst what was, till quite recent years, a remote, wild track of country, was another of the small holdings under the great De Busli, and here we find a fortress of the characteristic form; but, unfortunately, less remains to indicate what was the complete scheme of defence.

There is the mighty mount (Mr. Addy says, 58 ft. in perpendicular height), with the platform on the top about 39 ft. across. The mount has a wide fosse around it, which links into the fosse of the attached bailey. Only one arm of the huge bailey rampart remains, stretching out some 310 ft. from the fosse of the mount in the usual manner. What other protection was there to this bailey? Unless some great landslip occurred long since,

carrying away the rampart on the western side, we must conclude that the constructors considered the almost precipitous slope there a sufficient protection, when topped with a strong palisade.

In any case, the bailey would have been unguarded on the north, had there not been a rampart and fosse corresponding to that on the south; but not a trace is left, and the fort now lies open to gently-sloping ground in that direction.

Probably the bank was thrown down, and its fosse therewith filled in the course of agricultural operations.



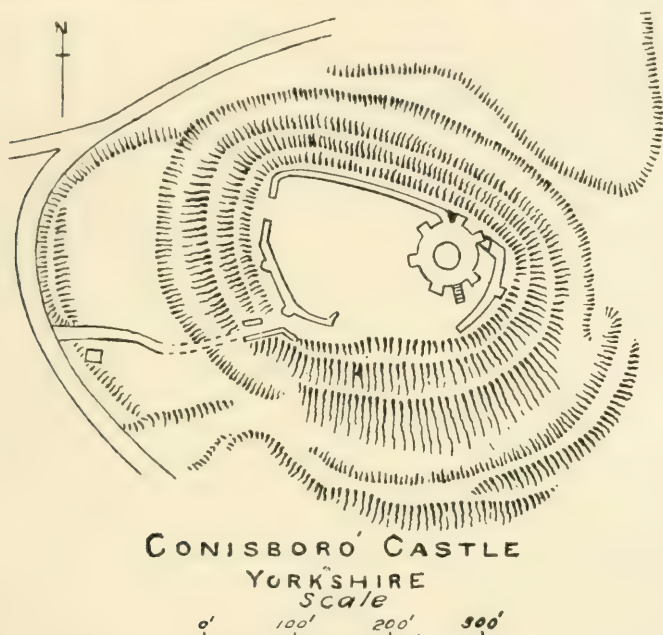
The great mount has been claimed as a Saxon moot-hill, or place of assembly; but I think it simply part of a feudal fortress, either never completed, or partially destroyed as suggested.

It is interesting to note that the place is known to this day as the "Bailey Hill," a term which, derived from the French, suggests Norman associations.

As is so often seen with similar castle-works, the church is near by, though not, in this case, so close as to lead to certainty that it occupies the site of the original building; the present church, mainly of the fourteenth century, is nearly 400 ft. away, and there is no sign of an outer court having extended in that direction.

About a quarter of a mile on the other side of the village is a commanding height, surmounted by what the O. S. denominates a supposed Saxon castle. The site is known as Castle Hill; but I take it that there is nothing more than the faint traces of what may have been a protected watch-tower or lookout, such as would have been a useful adjunct to the main fortress which we have been examining.

We may compare with this a work in a similar position in relation to the fortress at Bakewell, in Derbyshire.



CONISBORO' CASTLE
YORKSHIRE
Scale

0' 100' 200' 300'

CONISBOROUGH,

with its numerous dependencies belonged, under William, to the great Earl of Warren, who may have done much towards shaping the mount into its present form; but I see no evidence of masonry belonging to that early period. Artificial mounts have to settle down for long years to support such weights, and Conisborough mount appears largely though not wholly artificial.

The whole work, though on the "mount and court" plan, suggests later efforts in castrametation. There was

the main mount, partly a natural hill but scarped and fossed, providing a large area; this was surrounded at first by timber stockading, and later by a shell keep of stone. Afterwards—about 1150 to 1160—was added the grand keep, with its six buttresses, cutting into, and destroying part of, the first shell-wall. It is no part of my task to describe castles of masonry, or much would have to be said about this, to my mind, the most interesting castle building of Yorkshire.

Those who examine the place with care will see that here, too, was a base-court, or bailey, with its own rampart and outer fosse, the latter much destroyed by the road which follows the line, and occupies the site of the ancient bailey fosse.

In too many instances I have had to appeal for better preservation of these monuments of the past, and even at Conisborough it is to be noted, with deep regret, that the glorious little chapel, with its Late Norman carvings and mouldings, is suffering from careless hands or wanton desecrators.

There remains but one type of earthwork defence to which reference need be made. Throughout England, though more frequently in the lowland districts, are simple moated enclosures, generally without ramparts. The earth dug to form the moat being thrown inwards, the enclosed area is higher than the surrounding land.

Some of our eastern moats are furnished with banks or low ramparts for additional defence, while some of these enclosures are divided and sub-divided into two or more islands by water moats.

Yorkshire has examples of these interesting homestead moats, but it is mainly to the south-eastern counties we look for them; and many there have characteristics which are leading me to think they, in some cases at least, are the sites of the house-places of our Saxon forefathers.¹

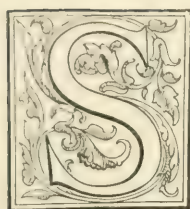
¹ It is pleasant to note that, since this Paper was read, the Duke of Norfolk has presented the city of Sheffield with forty-eight acres of land on Wincobank Hill, including the prehistoric fortress; accompanying this noble gift with the request that the ancient fortifications be preserved in accordance with the suggestions of the British Archaeological Association and the Sheffield Free Libraries and Museums Committee.



NOTES ON SHEFFIELD MANOR HOUSE.

BY THOMAS WINDER, Esq., Assoc. M. INST. C.E.

(Read at the Sheffield Congress, August 10th, 1903.)



SHEFFIELD Manor, the Lodge, the Manor Lodge or Manor Castle (by which latter name it is now locally known) was the country mansion to which the Earls of Shrewsbury retired from time to time, when the sanitary condition of Sheffield Castle became too grave for its continued occupation. Thus the Earl of Shrewsbury writes: "I thought to remove this Queen to my Lodge for five or six days to cleanse her chamber, being kept very uncleanly."

Sheffield Castle was situated at the confluence of the Rivers Sheaf and Don, and extended to Lady's Bridge, and probably included Castle Folds, Exchange Street, and up to Waingate. It is described in the Charter of Henry III, by which Thomas de Furnival was authorised to make a firm and embattled castle, as "his Manor House at Sheffield;" and the buildings now known as "the Manor" are, at a somewhat later date, described as "the Manor Farm."

The Manor House was situated in the centre of Sheffield Park. This park is now partly built over, and the remainder is laid out for agricultural purposes. It was probably a conserve for deer as early as the time of Stephen. When the mansion was deserted, the stock of deer decayed; but even in 1637 there were still one thousand fallow deer and two hundred "deer of antler" in it.

The park was famous for its long, straight avenue of walnut trees, which led from the gate of the park next the town to the principal entrance to the Manor; and for its numerous and immense oak trees.

The blackened trunks of three of the walnut-trees which formed the avenue still stand, and a plan (drawn in 1781 by William Fairbank), which is now in the Duke of Norfolk's Estate Office at Sheffield, shows it as running almost due north and south; and that Queen Mary's Lodge—or the Turret House, as it is marked on this plan—was erected immediately to the westward of this avenue. The fields through which the avenue ran are still known as "Great and Little Walnuts."

The sporting traditions connected with Sheffield Park are still preserved in such names as "Stand House," "Dog-Kennel Lane," and "Park Farm," which latter was formerly the deerkeeper's cottage. The park contained about 2,462 acres. The Manor House is said to have been built by George, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, at the beginning of the sixteenth century (probably prior to 1516). It was kept up forty or fifty years after the destruction—during the Civil Wars—of Sheffield Castle, and in 1706 was dismantled by Thomas, Duke of Norfolk. After being occupied by his Grace's agents for some time, it gradually degenerated into a number of small cottages. These were destroyed about thirty years ago, and the ruins have rapidly disappeared since that time.

It is exceedingly difficult to reconstruct the plan of the original building, but from existing plans and documents the following facts may be gleaned. According to Harrison, "the Manor House was fairly built with stone and timber, with an inward court and an outward court, two gardens and three yards, containing 3 acres, 1 rood, 15 perches."

The plan already referred to shows a large court between the "Turret House" (Queen Mary's Lodge) and the large hall, and the reference on the plan calls this "Great Court, 1a. 0r. 24p." This is, without doubt, Harrison's "Outward Court." Before the erection of "Queen Mary's Tower—described in the reference to Fairbank's plan as "Messuage" (called "the Turret House, with outhouses, fold, garden, lane below it, and the pond, 0a. 3r. 22p."). This court was an almost perfect square of two acres in extent, bounded on the west by the avenue and on the east by the main front of the Manor House.

The main entrance to the "Inner Court" is said to have been situated between two octagonal towers on the western front, where a noble flight of steps led to the door which opened into the Great Gallery. The foundations of one of these towers may be seen to the west of the footpath which intersects the grounds, and the walls of the other one still stand at the north-western angle of the ruins.

We learn from an interesting letter of George Cavendish, the gentleman-usher to Wolsey, that the Lodge contained "a faire gallerye where was in the further end thereof a goodlie tower with lodgings where my Lord was lodged;" and that the "faire gallery" was large enough when divided by a "travers of sarcenett which was drawne across it," to accommodate the Earl of Shrewsbury at the one end and Wolsey at the other end. The position of this screen is possibly marked by the moulded oak corbel which still remains in the chamber of what was afterwards a cottage, and is partly covered by a modern partition. He further says there was a great bay-window in this gallery—probably the one which now stands in the grounds at Queen's Tower. From the same letter we see that there were chambers opening immediately off this gallery. The remains of these are still visible, abutting upon the east side of the angle-tower.

From the eastern or angle-tower the court wall still remains in very fair preservation: it extends about 100 ft. almost due east, and then returns 150 ft. towards the south. From here it was probably turned eastwards about 80 ft., as a small part of this wall, with an arrow-slit therein, is visible amongst the more modern work, and may have been intended to protect the face of the southern wall of the court, which it enfildes. Here it would join a very ancient building of two rooms (now used as a stable) in which are a large fireplace, a simple Tudor window, and outer and inner doorways. The walls of this building are pierced by numerous arrow-slits. The eastern half of it contains two very fine pairs of "crucks" (or earliest local form of roof-principals), and is probably the oldest building in the Manor. It is spoken of by the late Mr. Leader as a barn; but the writer would

suggest that it was, if not erected for defensive purposes at any rate at a later period added to and used for such purposes, and may have been a guard-room. The Manor laithes, or barns, are situated much nearer to Sheffield, at the top of White's Lane. A lane leading to the colliery crosses the ruins at this point, and has obliterated all further traces of buildings to the east.

On the western side of this lane, and contained in the angle formed by it and Manor Lane, there is a group of rooms with very interesting fireplaces, doorways, and windows. The latter have been heavily barred with iron. There are also the massive remains of the large eastern gateway, and a comparatively modern chimney-stack.

The mansion was originally built of local stone, with grit-stone or "moor stone" for some of the fireplaces, quoins, etc., as well as with bricks and very fine half-timber work. The half-timber work displays beautiful mouldings, and is remarkable for the excellent quality of the plaster filling, which has been put upon grey slate, instead of the usual oak-laths or reeds.

It is difficult to ascertain the original elevation of the half-timber front of the Long Gallery, which may have been open below, supported upon an arcade of oak pillars, which pillars still stand upon their square, curiously-chamfered stone bases. It is hoped the present excavations will reveal more of this.

That there was a chapel in the Manor House we know, from the account of the funeral of the fifth Earl of Shrewsbury, where it is distinctly said "there was a Chappel in the said Manor," but its position is unknown. The local tradition of the existence of a subterranean passage between the Lodge and Sheffield Castle has been strengthened by the occurrence in this account of the words: "The corse was secretly brought from the said Manor to the Castle," and by the discovery of an underground passage during drainage excavations under Castle Hill, which passage was never explored.

The circumstances which give to the Manor its greatest historical interest are the visit of Wolsey, who arrived there on the 8th November, 1530, and remained sixteen or seventeen days, when on his last and fatal journey

towards London; and the detention of Mary Queen of Scots, in the custody of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, at various times between the 28th November, 1570, and September, 1584. There is a local tradition that the Earl erected a building for the better safe-keeping of his unfortunate prisoner.

In 1577, the Earl wrote to Lord Burghley, saying: "I have sent Greaves a plat of a front of a Lodge that I am now in building which, if it were not for troubling your Lordship, I would wish your advice thereon;" and in 1580 his son, Gilbert, wrote to his father that Queen Elizabeth had been enquiring anxiously as to the safety of his charge: "and I told her what great heed and care you had to her safe-keeping (especially being there)"—that is, at the Manor—"that good number of men, continually armed, watched her day and night, and both under her windows, over her chamber, and of every side her; so that unless she could transform herself to a flea or a mouse it was impossible she could escape."

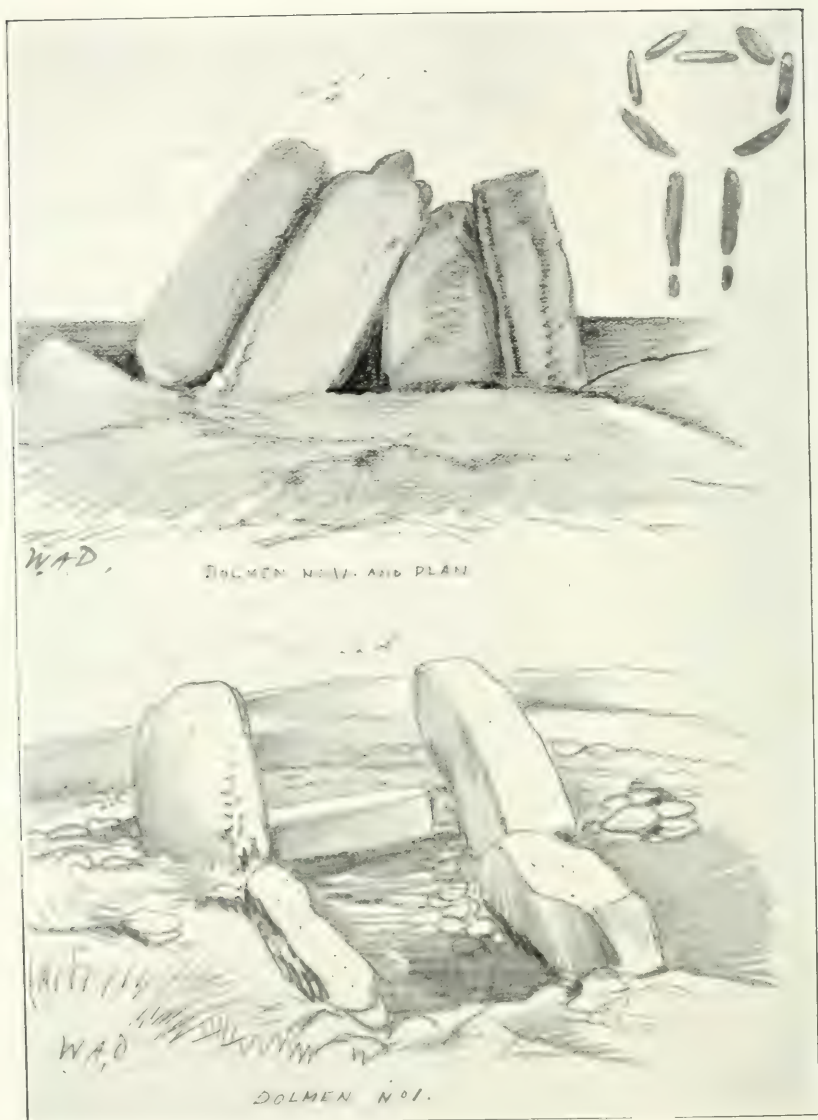
In 1584, Sadler, writing from Sheffield Lodge, speaks of the "straitness of this and so the stronger" (compared with Wingfield); and says: "I would rather choose to keep this Queen here with sixty men than there with three hundred, of which mind his Lordship is also." These quotations support the tradition that Shrewsbury erected a special building for Queen Mary's use; and about thirty years ago this building was discovered by the late Mr. John Stacye, amongst a block of farm buildings, by which it was hidden. The matter was brought to the notice of the present Duke of Norfolk, who commissioned Messrs. Hadfield and Son to restore it to its original condition. How well they carried out their instructions may be seen in the square, ivy-covered, three-storied building which stands alone in the quadrangle to the west of the ruins. Mr. Charles Hadfield is of opinion the style of the building agrees very nearly with the period in which we now suppose it to have been erected; and certainly it answers very well to Gilbert Talbot's description. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand the Earl's selection of the site, as it appears to be outside the defensive works; but even this is

supported by Mary's statement in one of her letters, that the place is not fortified.

The stone coffin outside this small lodge is said to have been found in the walls of Sheffield Castle, and to be that of Thomas de Furnival. The quaint gargoil in Queen Mary's chamber was rescued by Mr. Hodgson, of Stand House Farm. His workmen had found it amongst a lot of loose stones, and were just going to break it up for road-mending! May it not have been fixed at one of the angles of the towers?

It will be gratifying to the members of the Association who recently visited the ruins of the Manor House, to learn that their condition having been brought to the notice of the Duke of Norfolk by his agent, Mr. Henry Coverdale, his Grace has decided on the removal of the modern additions, and the conservation of so much of the ancient buildings as can be preserved. This work is now being carried out under Mr. Coverdale's instructions by the writer, his Grace's local architect and surveyor. The whole of the modern additions are being removed, and where there are gaps in the stone walls they are being built up in brickwork, so that there may be no fear of their being mistaken for old work. In two or three cases, the removal of modern chimney-breasts have disclosed the existence of ancient fireplaces *in situ*, and in one case an ancient doorway and a small window were found behind a chimney-breast.





AS NECROPOLES DOLMENICAS DE TRAZ-OS-MONTES.



PORTUGUESE PARALLELS TO THE CLYDESIDE DISCOVERIES.

By REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., F.R. Hist. S., F.R.S.L.

(Read January 20th, 1904.)



IN the fourth *fascicule* of the first volume of *Portugalia*, 1903—the leading Portuguese journal of Archæology—is contained a long account, fully illustrated, of the curious and, in some respects, unique discoveries made by Father José Brenha and Father Rodriguez among the group of dolmens situated at Pouca d'Aguiar, in the province of Traz-os-Montes, Portugal.

The account occupies no less than sixty-four large 4to. pages, and besides numerous drawings and illustrations in the text, there are sixteen pages of plates, containing representations of all the most remarkable "finds." An account so given merits the earnest attention of the archæological world, and it merits it the more by the manner of its telling. This is as follows: First, there is an introduction of four pages, in which Don Ricardo Severo, the Editor of *Portugalia*, and one of the most learned of Portuguese archæologists, recounts his connection with the discoveries, and describes the *mise-en-scene*; then follows a full, detailed, simple and straightforward narrative of the discoveries by Father Brenha, extending over sixteen pages; and finally Don Severo examines the bearing of the discoveries in all their relationships in a thoroughly painstaking and scientific Paper, which he calls a "Commentary." and

which fills up the remaining forty-four pages. This "Commentary" is dated March, 1903, and contains, so far, the latest word on the subject.

The question therefore arises: What are these discoveries, which have created such a stir in archaeological circles in Portugal, and seem likely to flutter the dovescotes of students of anthropology throughout Europe, even if they do not help to revolutionise the ideas held till now as to the conditions of life among the aboriginal Iberian population of the Peninsula, and, incidentally, as to the culture attained by that race in its migration through Europe in Neolithic times? Father Brenha tells us that his attention was first called to the group of dolmens at Pouca d'Aguiar as far back as 1894, and that he systematically explored them, in company with Father Rodriguez, from that date onwards; while in 1901 Don Severo visited the scene, having observed the notices of them published in 1895 by Father Rodriguez in the *Archeologo Português*; and in the same journal in 1898, by Dr. H. Botelho; and the references to them made by Dr. J. Leité de Vasconcellos in his book on *The Religions of Lusitania*, in 1897, who stated that he considered them "most important."

The whole province of Traz-os-Montes abounds in dolmens, situated for the most part high up in the mountains, the number of them which exist in a relatively small district testifying, in Father Brenha's opinion, to the density of the population, and its long persistence in Neolithic times. As is well known, dolmens are the burial-places of the Neolithic population; they are fashioned after the model of their dwelling-places when alive, and they are found along the whole line of march of the primitive Iberian or Berber race westwards, till on the western shores of Europe and the British Isles their march was perforce stopped, and they had to settle and resist as best they could the pressure of the Celtic peoples from behind. On the plains of Moab, in Asia Minor, in Central Europe, dotting the northern parts of Africa, dolmens are to be seen in more or less abundance; but it is in Cornwall, in Brittany, and here in Portugal that the most numerous and the most interesting are to

be found --the last relics and the final resting-places of this prehistoric race (Plate I).

Of all the dolmens in the province of Traz-os-Montes, which Father Brenha and Father Rodriguez explored, the most important are those of "Chã das Arcas," not only for the good preservation of the monuments, but for the variety and interest of the funereal furnishing which they met with. Those with which we have to deal consist of a group of ten dolmens, in the district of Villa Pouca, and in the parish of Soutello do Valle. The first seven and the last two contained nothing of importance, nor which need detain us. It is with that which the discoverers distinguished as No. viii that our enquiry has to do. There must have been a gallery of approach, but no stone of it was left. One of the seven large stones of which the chamber was formed had fallen inside, dividing it into two parts, and its position appeared to prove that the chamber had never been filled with earth.

The floor of the chamber was paved, and had been covered with a slight layer of sand, which has been washed away by rain. It was the largest chamber in this group of dolmens. Of the contents, Father Brenha says: "They were of a most extraordinary description, and show that, instead of being a tomb, it was perhaps a temple or covered depository, where the tribe placed and kept secure whatever it respected and adored, or which perpetuated the traditions of its ancestors."

These contents may be divided under four heads: (1) Amulets of small stones, of various shapes, perforated, some of them having designs of animals and scenes of primitive life, and zoömorphic stones. (2) Four female busts, or figurines. (3) Several large stones, with animals depicted on them; and (4) a small stone, with characters (?) traced on it, and two large perforated amulets, pointed like scrapers, with inscriptions: one of them "appearing to be the symbol of the sun."¹

¹ Similar objects, though of less importance, were found in other groups of dolmens in the immediate neighbourhood, including some further examples of stones and amulets inscribed with alphabetiform characters and drawings of animals and zoomorphic stones. Some fragments of pottery were also found in some of the dolmens.

To continue Father Brenha's account: "We met with no object of metal in the dolmens which we explored; and all the objects met with are characteristically and indubitably of the Neolithic age"; and the conclusions which he draws from his investigations are as follows: "That inhumation was practised, and the deposition of small vessels with offerings; that they believed in the future life, in the worship of the dead, the adoration of the sun, and of animals, and the deification of the implements of labour; that writing was known to Neolithic man; that the appearance of coloured objects proves that tattooing was used, as well as other ornaments, whether necklaces or amulets; that they hunted, either for necessity or pleasure, as well as ground corn; that their life was rather agricultural and sedentary than warlike."

With most of these conclusions, except as regards the knowledge of writing, all experts on the subject of Neolithic man will agree, notwithstanding the remarkable character of the "finds" on which they are based in this instance.

It will be observed that although Father Brenha describes minutely the condition of the chamber in the particular dolmen, No. VIII, he says nothing whatever as to its having been broken into at some date unknown. He tells a plain unvarnished tale of the discoveries which he and Father Rodriguez made together; and there is no question but that they are both perfectly honest and truthful in their narration of the facts.

Don Severo's "Commentary" deals with the discoveries on the assumption of the genuineness of the objects found, of which he himself is firmly persuaded; and his Paper is, as I have already remarked, a long and erudite investigation of the significance and of the relationships of the "finds" with what is already known of Neolithic man from previous discoveries. With some portion of his Paper I will deal presently. But there is one locality and one remarkable series of "finds" which he does not refer to, no doubt because the story of it had not reached as far as Portugal; and yet this series of "finds" throws a remarkable light upon these later Portuguese ones, and,

both taken together, mutually support one another, and at the same time throw additional light upon what has been hitherto known of the condition of Neolithic man in Europe.

I refer to the discoveries made by Messrs. Bruce and Donnelly at Dumbouie, Auchentorlie, and Cochno, and in the Dumbuck and Langbank "Crannogs;" and I may say here at once that whatever may be the ultimate verdict of the scientific world as to the value and genuineness of this series of "finds," whether in Portugal or in Scotland, I and many other competent observers are as much persuaded of the perfect honesty and good faith of Messrs. Bruce and Donnelly as Don Severo and Don Leit   de Vasconcellos are of that of Fathers Brenha and Rodriguez.

There is no need for me to explain that it is the mutual light shed upon one another by these remarkably coincident "finds" on the Clyde-side and in Portugal, and the light which both together shed upon the religious and magical ideas of Neolithic man, which has induced me to bring this subject again before this Association; and I flatter myself that it will not be unwelcome, for nothing that can by any possibility throw any additional light upon Early Man in Britain, or elsewhere, is alien to its objects. I may, however, explain, in order to make myself perfectly clear, that when I speak of "Neolithic man," I mean "races in the Neolithic stage of culture," whether they belong to what is more specially known as "the Neolithic Age" in Europe (as these Portuguese "finds" occurring in dolmens most probably do), or to a later period, *chronologically*, as the Scotch "finds" most probably do, and as the native races in Africa and Australia do at the present day.

That it is possible for a race to be in the Neolithic stage of culture as regards ideas, while actually in the Iron Age, or whatever the modern Age may be called, as regards the material conditions of life, is proved, for example, by Miss Mary Kingsley's account of the state of things among the West African natives, among whom she travelled and whom she studied. There you may find a chief and his people in possession of modern

firearms, wearing goods made in Manchester, and trading with the merchants; enjoying, in fact, a considerable degree of material prosperity and civilisation; while, at the same time, as regards magic and religion, you find them steeped in the ideas which have come down to them from their Neolithic ancestors—those ideas, not as with modern European nations, merely as survivals or “superstitions,” but as living, active forces in their daily life.

With this digression, rendered necessary by the number of misrepresentations and misapprehensions which are abroad on the subject, I proceed to the comparisons of the Clydeside and Portuguese “finds.”

It will be noticed that in Portugal nothing is said of any *rock-markings*. On that head I shall therefore add nothing to what I have advanced in previous Papers. But markings of the same character with those engraved on rocks and dolmenic stones in all parts of Europe, and painted on the rocky sides of their secret and sacred hiding-places by the natives of Central Australia, are found on the small stones or amulets both in Scotland and Portugal, *i.e.*, cup- and ring-markings, ducts, and lines, or rays.

Of the four classes of objects described by Father Brenha, two only, and perhaps a third, correspond with those found on the Clyde, *viz.*: the perforated amulets of various shapes, and the figurines; and possibly one example of a lettered amulet at Langbank. Of the drawings of animals and the zoöomorphic amulets, there is no example from Scotland.

A comparison of the drawings of the two sets of objects (Plates II, III and IV) will demonstrate sufficiently the remarkable resemblance, not to say identity of *motif*, which is to be found in them, and which proves indisputably either that they proceed from peoples in whom the same set of ideas are dominant and vital, or that the same identical modern practical joker or jokers—to use no stronger terms—has had his innings in the Portuguese dolmens and on the Clyde. Whether the latter hypothesis is a likely one will be seen later on. It will be remembered that it is these particular Scotch “finds” of which it has been said that “no place can be



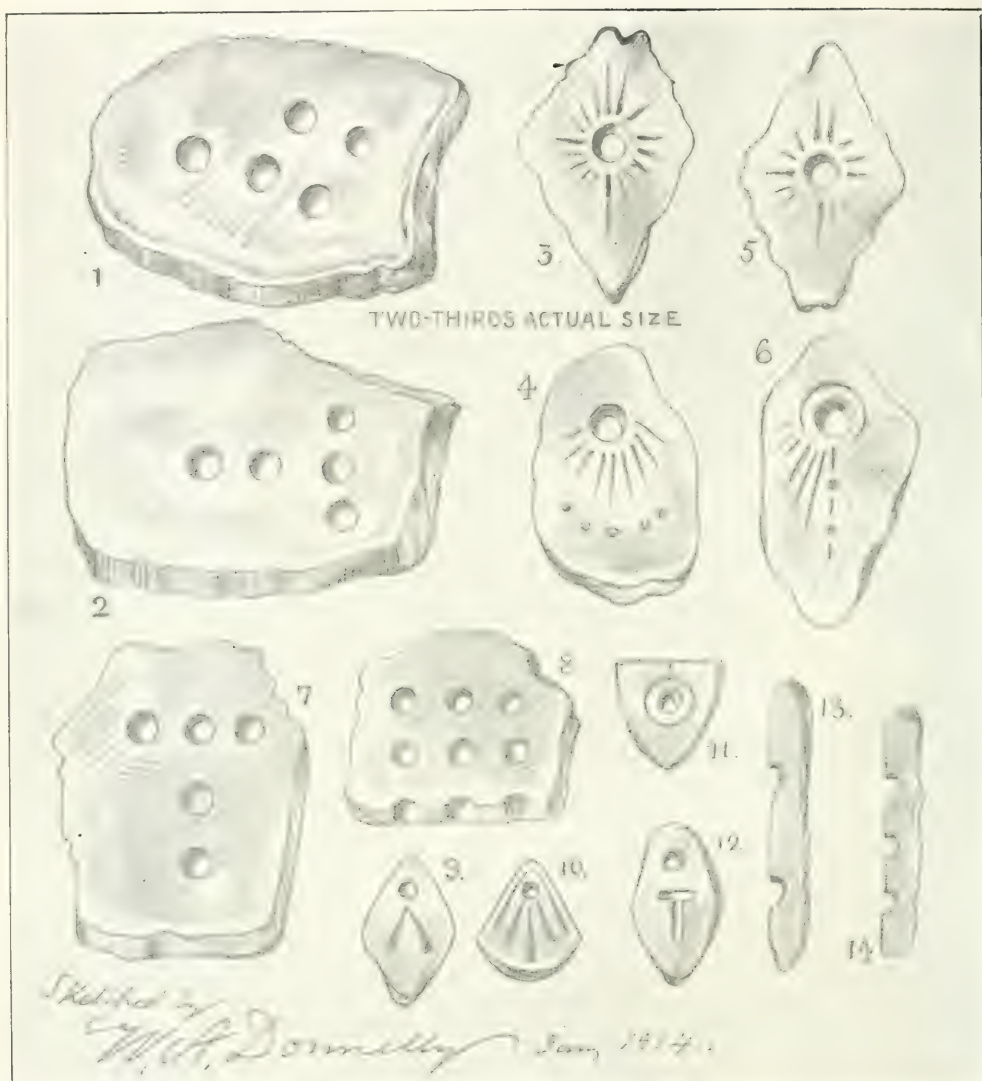
PREHISTORIC MAN ON THE CLYDE.

PARALLELS FROM PORTUGUESE DISCOVERIES.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4. Finds from Dumbouie and Dumbuck Crannog.

Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12. Portuguese Parallels more recently discovered by Don Ricardo Severo and Rev. Jose Brenha.

Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16. Sections of respective finds.



THE ARCHEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES AT DUMBUCK AND DUMBOUT.
REMARKABLE CORROBORATIVE PARALLELS FOUND IN PORTUGAL.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Portuguese cup-marked stone. | 7. Dumbouie cup-marked stone. |
| 2. Dumbouie cup-marked stone. | 8. Portuguese cup-marked stone. |
| 3. Portuguese cup- and ray-marked stone. | 9. Portuguese alphabetiform amulet. |
| 4. Dumbuck Crannog cup- and-ray stone amulet. | 10. Clydeside amulet. |
| 5. Portuguese ray markings. | 11. Clydeside amulet. |
| 6. Dumbuck Crannog ray markings. | 12. Portuguese carved amulet. |
| 13. Section of No. 1. | 14. Section of No. 8. |

found for them in any known phase of prehistoric Scottish archaeology;" and a demand was made that if they were held to be genuine relics of prehistoric times, European parallels should be produced to substantiate the claim.

In former Papers¹ I showed that this could easily be done, and I referred to the parallels which have been found and described by the Hon. John Abercromby in Russian Finland, and which are described by Dr. Hoernes as having been found in many parts of Central Europe. Reference may also be made to the similar objects found and described by Herr Klebs in Eastern Prussia.

Now Father Brenha comes forward with his account of the "finds" which he and Father Rodriguez have made in Portugal, all of which he claims as being Neolithic, and among which he states that, as in the case of the Scotch "finds," not one particle of metal was found."

The greater part of Don Severo's "Commentary" is taken up with proving, on similar lines to those which I have followed here and in the Papers already referred to, that the claim that these "finds" are Neolithic is not only probable but possible; and that in them a new and most important light is thrown upon the social and religious ideas of the Neolithic race in Europe.

In *l'Anthropologie* for 1895-1896, M. Salomon Reinach, the well-known French savant, described and figured many similar Neolithic parallels; and M. Cartailhac, whose authority is undoubted on prehistoric times in France, Spain, and Portugal, has done the same in his monumental works on the subject. It is noteworthy also that M. Cartailhac recently expressed the opinion that new and unexpected "finds" were to be looked for from Portugal.

As regards the amulets with incised or inscribed cups, dots, rings and lines, these are now well known to be among the commonest and most ordinary *trouvailles* on Neolithic sites, and against these by themselves there is nothing advanced by any student of the period. I will

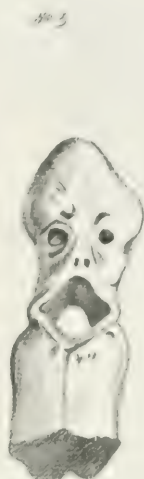
¹ *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, N. S., vol. vi, pp. 164-188; vol. vii, pp. 229-257; vol. ix, pp. 59-64.

not, therefore, take up time by adverting further to these.

As regards the "figurines," which some of our opponents contemptuously speak of as "dollies," there is more to be said; and, moreover, I shall show that what is intended in certain quarters as a name of scorn is in reality a name of honour, and has much to tell of deep anthropological interest.

I need not refer further to the figurines of a precisely similar nature to those found at Dumbuck and Pouca d'Aguiar, which the Hon. Jn. Abercromby describes and illustrates in *Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns*. Similar objects are now also among the recognised *trouvailles* from Neolithic sites. In Dr. Hoernes's *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*, many are drawn and described, *e.g.*, several from Jassy in Roumania, and from Collorgues in France, and elsewhere. In the *Lake Dwellings of Europe*, Dr. Munro figures and describes several from the Neolithic lake-dwelling at Laibach, and from the lakes of Neuchâtel and Bourget. Of these he says: "The clay images of animals found on several stations in different parts of the lake-dwelling area, as well as those of the *terremare*, and more especially the human images from Laibach, are *probably idols*. Along with four clay figures from the lakes of Neuchâtel and Bourget, I represent two of bronze, which I noticed in a collection from Bodmann in the Steinhaus Museum at Überlingen. One of them was *evidently used as a pendant*, and the other appears to have been intended for a human being. The clay figures from Laibach, though fragmentary, are undoubtedly representations of the human body" (*op cit.*, pp. 173, 532, 533).

It is instructive in this connection to call to mind the scorn which was poured upon Dr. Schliemann, the unlettered grocer's apprentice, by M. de Mortillet, the greatest living *savant* and archaeologist of the day in France, when he announced his discoveries of what he called "the owl-headed idols from the site of Troy," which really were primitive figurines of women with no mouths: a type now known to be very common in early art, from the caves of Australia to the illuminations in the



SHALE FIGURINES FROM DUMBUCK CRENNUG



PORTUGALIAN STONE PARALLELS, FROM DOLMEN DE TRAZ-OS-MOYTES

Drawn by, *W. A. Donnelly* Jan. 1904.
Artist Milton Donnelly N. B.

Celtic Book of Deer. M. de Mortillet said that "every excavator must be struck with the impossibilities of the narrative." Mr. Newton, however, of the British Museum, at once ranged himself on the Doctor's side, saying: "From the day I first saw the photographs of Dr. Schliemann's antiquities, and read his narrative, I entertained no doubt whatever as to the genuineness of the objects found; nor did his account of the mode of his discovery suggest to me any doubt as to the truth of his statements." Time has fought on Dr. Schliemann's side, and triumphantly vindicated the *bona fides* of his discoveries, and I look for a similar vindication in the present instance.

Place the figurines from Laibach, from the dolmens, from Scotland, from Finnish Russia, from Troy, from Jassy, from Collorgues, from the Bukowina, from Australia, from a prehistoric Egyptian stone cylinder, together, and their family likeness is at once discovered. No doubt, as Dr. Munro says, they were *idols*. And what is that but "dollies"? Just as we learn from embryology that every human being ere it comes to the birth runs through the whole gamut of creation, and epitomises in itself the evolution of living things from the primordial cell to man, so each individual human being, we learn from anthropology, epitomises in himself or herself the evolution of the race from savagery through barbarism to civilisation. In the present day, and through the early period at which education commences, this evolution is more rapidly accomplished than it was in former times; but even now there is a period in the history of every child when it is in the Neolithic stage of culture, and at that stage every object that it comes in contact with is thought of as alive. It is the age of fairy-tale and folk-lore. The child talks to the trees and to the flowers, to beasts and birds and insects, to chairs and tables, to its toys, and it hugs its "dollies" to its breast, idolises them, caresses them, cajoles them, scolds them: it thinks of itself as sharing a common and an interchangeable life with them, and ideas of metempsychosis and transformation are at the foundation of its belief.

What is all this but just man in the Neolithic stage of

culture, whether in primeval Europe and Asia and Africa, or among primitive savage races, such as the South Sea Islanders, the native tribes of Central Australia, and many African nations down to the present day!

In the Appendix to *Prehistoric Times*, Lord Avebury gives a short statement of his views as to the order and progress of religious ideas in the human race. He describes the first stage as being presented by the Australians, "who believe in the existence of mysterious beings." His second stage is fetichism. Then follows what may be described—as he enunciates the idea—as a sort of blending of polytheism with animism, along with which is found totemism. Finally, there is anthropomorphism and idolatry, due to the increasing power of chiefs and priests. I cannot hold with this order, for on the question of the growth of religious ideas I agree with Dr. Tylor:—

"The main issue of the problem is this: whether savage animism is a primary formation belonging to the lower culture, or whether it consists mostly or entirely of beliefs originating in some higher culture, and conveyed by adoption or degradation into the lower. Savage animism, both by what it has and by what it wants, seems to represent the earlier system in which began the age-long course of the education of the world. Thus it is that savage religion can frequently explain doctrines and rites of civilised religion. This is a state of things which appears to carry an historical as well as a practical meaning. The degradation theory"

(universally held until the researches of Darwin, Spencer, Tylor, and a host of other observers showed its inability to explain the *facts* of anthropology and ethnology)

"would expect savages to hold beliefs and customs intelligible as broken-down relics of former higher civilisation. The development theory would expect civilised man to keep up beliefs and customs which have their reasonable meaning in less cultured states of society. So far as the study of survival enables us to judge between the two theories, it is seen that what is intelligible religion in the lower culture is often meaningless superstition in the higher, and thus the development theory has the upper hand.

"Moreover, this evidence fits with the teaching of prehistoric archaeology. Savage life, carrying on into our own day the life of the Stone Age, may be legitimately claimed as representing

remotely ancient conditions of mankind, intellectual and moral, as well as material. If so, a low but progressive state of animistic religion occupies a like ground in savage and in primitive culture" (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, pp. 356-58).

First, therefore, in the order of religious ideas, comes animism, when all Nature is thought of as alive, and each object has its own inherent life-spirit or soul, and all are interchangeable. At this stage, also, Totemism is the rule of family and tribal society. This is the condition of the Australians and of the Neolithic races. The "mysterious beings" worshipped by the former were their Alcheringa ancestors. Then follows Fetishism, with the perfecting of magic and religion, as previously defined.¹ To this succeed polytheism and idolatry; but each succeeding stage carries with it the ideas of its predecessor, down even to the present day, among the most civilised races. As Lord Avebury says: "Bygone beliefs linger on among children and the ignorant." This needs no showing, having been so fully elucidated by Dr. Tylor and subsequent writers on the subject.

M. Cartailhac wrote a learned article in *L'Anthropologie* (vol. v, pp. 145f.), entitled: "La Divinité Feminine et les Sculptures de l'Allée Couverte d'Epone, Seine et Oise," in which he argues that the female figures sculptured on the rocks in that gallery represent goddesses, and belong to the Neolithic Age. The style is exactly similar to those I have already shown; and if such figures sculptured on slabs of stone represent a Gallic female divinity, *à fortiori*, the figurines of the same character represent divinities. On this point, however, Dr. Hoernes says: "Cartailhac drew inferences too rapidly formed, too far-reaching, and too vague, as to the female divinity of Gaul; after alluding to the stone-arrows provided with female breasts of Sardinia, and the Trojan face-vases;" and this criticism seems justified, for what M. Cartailhac says is: "The sculptured figures declare the intellectual unity of Gaul, even of a great part of Europe, at this distant period, which is the end of the Stone Age and the commencement of the Bronze: the dawn of history, thanks to rays caught from Egypt,

¹ *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, N. S., vol. vii, pp. 231-235.

from Troy (?), and from Greece. They will, perhaps, reveal to us the Celtic Fatherland."¹ This may be and perhaps is far-fetched and fanciful; but that the sculptured figures and figurines represent goddesses (not a goddess) of a sort (idols, "dollies"), and that they belong to the Neolithic Age, may be taken as established.

I have not referred to the sculptures on the Kivik monument and others in Sweden, because, although Brunius held that they were Neolithic,² yet they are in a much more finished style, and have even been placed in the Late-Northern Iron Age, from the sixth to the ninth century A.D. Montelius³ holds that they belong to the Bronze Age, and that they are pictographs; for, according to this writer, "writing" was unknown in the Bronze Age" (much more was this true of the Stone Age); and these carvings represent the deeds of warriors, expeditions by sea, etc., which would have a meaning for the people, and serve to preserve alive the memory of exciting and notable events.

This pictographic writing, or tracing, unites itself with the earliest attempts at hieroglyphic writing in Egypt, but at a distance of millennia apart.

As a matter of fact, taking all these "finds" in their totality, it needs only an open mind, and one not filled with preconceived prejudices as to what *must be*—it needs, that is to say, an observer capable of paying due account to all the facts, who, therefore, is not willing to close his eyes to any because they do not happen to fit in with previous theories formed on insufficient *data*—to see in them the opening of a new chapter in our knowledge of the condition of things among the Neolithic population of Europe: new, but on the lines of previous research. Of course, the mere fact that certain "finds" in certain places, such as those described by Herr Klebs, Dr. Hoernes, M. Reinach, Dr. Munro, and M. Cartailhac, are held on the unimpeachable authority of these great men to be genuine and authentic, does not prove that other "finds," which have been impugned in certain quarters, are genuine; but it makes the probability that

¹ Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, p. 371.

² *Ibid.*, p. 377.

Civilization of Sweden in Heathen Times, pp. 73, 77.

they are so all the greater, and it makes the probability of forgery all the more difficult, and throws the onus of proving forgery on those who make the accusation. We shall see how difficult it is to entertain the idea of forgery in the sequel.

The superabundant evidence which I have adduced may, therefore, be taken to prove that amulets and figurines, such as have been found in Portugal and on the Clyde, are, so far from being unusual or not to be expected, among the normal relics of the Neolithic Age, or of peoples in the Neolithic stage of culture; and are either themselves evidences of a Totemistic condition of social life, or relics of the time when Totemism was a vital force in the organisation of the tribe. It will have been observed that Father Brenha speaks of the chamber in the dolmen in which his "finds" were discovered as being evidently "a temple or sacrarium in which the tribe deposited and kept safe whatever it revered or adored." I do not suppose that the good Father had ever heard of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen,¹ but he could not have better described the *ertnatulunga*, or sacred depository of the Arunta tribe of Central Australia, in which are placed the *Churinga* which determine the tribe's Totemistic relationships, and the descent of the different totem groups: the Witchetty grub, the Plum-tree, the Kangaroo, etc., from their divinised Alcheringa ancestors. The order of ideas is the same, although the knowledge and practice of agriculture and the possession of settled abodes raised Neolithic man in Europe to a much higher plane of culture than has ever been attained by the savage nomads of Central Australia. Just as in the case of the *Churinga*, the amulets in Portugal and in Scotland, with their inscribed lines, circles, and dots, bespeak, in all probability, totemistic inter-tribal and family relationships; and may, without inappropriateness, be described as the heraldry of early man. As in the Middle Ages the blazoned shield proclaimed the chief to all his followers, so the incised amulet marked the position in the tribe of its possessor.

¹ *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 133-135.

It appears to me that the *inscribed* amulets and stones, *i.e.*, those bearing marks which have a distinct resemblance to alphabetiform characters, must be of the same nature : unless we hold, with Father Brenha, that "writing was known in the Neolithic age." Don Severo discusses this question with a wealth of illustration that is most admirable and suggestive, and devotes many pages to showing the resemblance of the characters to well-known scripts, more especially the Cretan script, discovered by Mr. A. J. Evans in the course of his explorations at Knossos. It is possible that this may be the explanation, and that we have in these inscribed stones and amulets evidence of a widespread commercial intercourse among the Mediterranean peoples. But if so, the argument would carry us too far, for, as is well known, inscribed pebbles belonging to the Palaeolithic Age have been found, and similar inscribed amulets belonging to a later age have been discovered in Scotland and Ireland, and such signs are to-day among the tattoo-marks of the Motu Motu, a savage people in the South Seas. The simple explanation is, therefore, the one which I suggest, *viz.*, that these signs are not true letters, but merely, like the dots and lines and circles, first, signs of ownership, and next, totemistic signs understood by the tribe. This seems the more likely, as otherwise we should have to imagine that Palaeolithic Man was acquainted with the Roman alphabet ! It is to be noted, however, that as long ago as 1891, the late learned Don da Veiga published what he regarded as positive proof that the Peninsula possessed a written language before the end of the Stone Age ; so that Father Brenha had good authority for his statement (Plate V).

I need not explain that the Palaeolithic "finds" to which I refer are those from Mas d'Azil, in the Department of the Ariège, France, which were discovered by M. Piette in 1896. On these pebbles signs resembling the following, among other characters, were inscribed : F E I ∞ L. They were found in the deposit between the Reindeer period and the earliest Neolithic remains ; and with them were also found several harpoons of

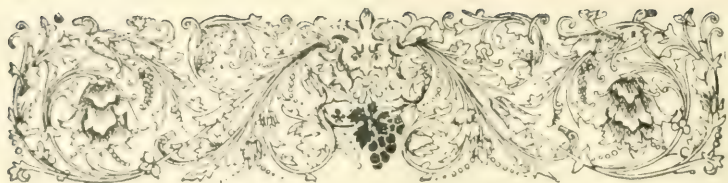


bone, perforated, evidently to receive the cord which the harpoonist retained when the harpoon was flung. These characters can hardly be letters; and it has been suggested that the pebbles were used in some game in which the characters had a meaning. I think it more probable that they had a serious significance.

It has been said that alphabetiform characters inscribed on amulets are new and unheard-of as relics of Early man. That this is not the case is proved by the fact that in the Museum at Edinburgh there is to be seen an amulet from a broch at Keiss, in Caithness, which is inscribed on both sides with characters that have been supposed to resemble runes, but no Runic scholar has been able to decipher them. The genuineness of this amulet is undisputed.

(To be continued).





THE CHISLEHURST CAVES AND DENE-HOLES.

(SECOND PAPER.)

By W. J. NICHOLS, Esq., V.-P.

(Read February 17th, 1904.)



OF the early history of Chislehurst Manor we have but slight information.¹ There is in existence a charter of King Eadgar, dated 974, which contains a reference to "the King's boundary that is in Cyslehurst," and implies that the Chislehurst manorial lands were at that time in the hands of King Eadgar. King Edward the Confessor held the manor, and the Domesday Commissioners state that it was then (in 1086) still *terra regis*, and in the possession of King William. It was held directly by Kings Henry I, Stephen, and Henry II.

From the Plantagenets it passed to the house of Beaufort, and later to that of Neville, the reversion being held at the latter end of the fifteenth century by Henry VII. In 1611, James I sold the reversion to

¹ There was a settlement in the Cray Valley, A.D. 862, in which year King Æthelbert granted ten carucates of land in Bromleah to his minister Dryghtwald, one of the boundaries being, "then from the Swallow, the Cray settlers dwelling, to the gibbet mark."

This Swallow, also known as "Swellinde Pette," is mentioned in later deeds, and is referred to by the late Mr. R. B. Lister in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. 1, p. 141.

There can be little doubt that this Swallow is identical with the great natural hollow in Denbridge Wood, which, commencing at the Common, ran through the dene above the caves, and near to the present entrance to them, and at intervals discharged its flood waters into the more remote galleries, where, at certain points, the water has, at times, risen to 4 ft. above the flooring.

George and Thomas Whitmore, of London, who in the same year sold the property to the fourth Sir Thomas Walsingham, of Scadbury, "to be held of our Lord the King by fealty alone in free and common socage."

About the time of the Restoration, Sir Thomas's son and successor, the fifth Sir Thomas Walsingham, sold Chislehurst, together with the manor of Scadbury, to Sir Richard Bettenson, from whom it has descended to the Townshend family, and so to the present owner, the Hon. Robert Marsham-Townshend, nephew of the late Earl Sidney.¹

There is little doubt that "Wellwood" and "Denbridge Wood" originally formed a portion of this manor, and that the boundary line was the Kyd Brook, which now divides the parish from Bromley;² but this portion at the commencement of the nineteenth century came into the possession of a Mr. Baskcomb, whose descendants sold it about the year 1870, and the property has since been covered with cottages and villa residences, excepting some few acres of woodland held by the trustees of the late Mr. George Wythes, who purchased them about the same time as he obtained the adjoining property, Bickley Park.

The modern entrance to the Chislehurst Caves is in this piece of woodland; but the galleries extend long distances under the hill and Common, access to the remote parts being cut off, except at one point, by the falling in of the excavations, or by their filling-in during the course of road-making and building operations on the surface. Mr. Baskcomb had an entrance to the middle series of galleries by a slope drift from his garden, constructed at considerable cost: this entrance still exists, but is now blocked up. His property boundary was also defined by a brick walling, which may be seen in the caves at the present time; but a doorway has recently been inserted, which gives access to the older galleries.

Since my first Paper on these caves appeared in print,

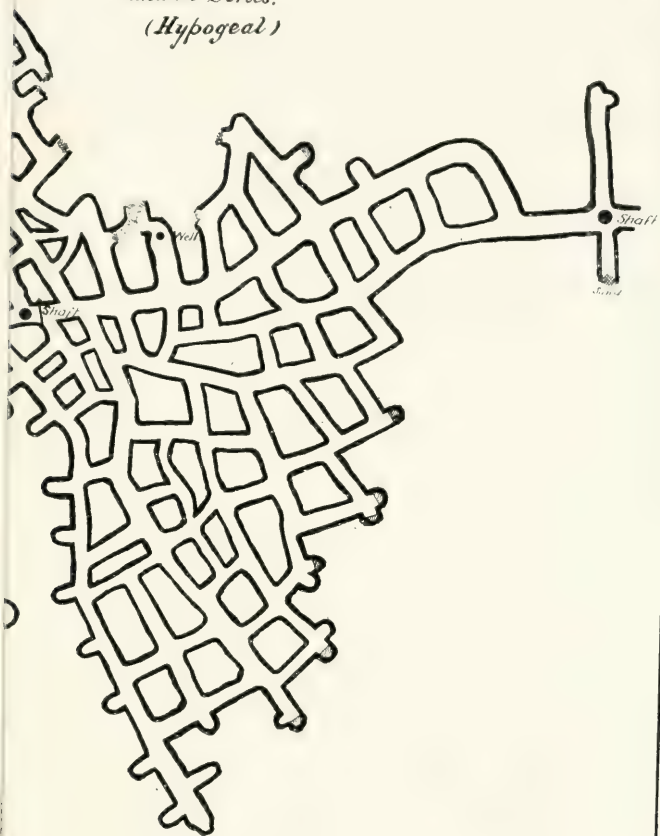
¹ Webb.

² Kyd Brook, a corruption of Kêd, or Ceridwen, the Arkite goddess or Ceres of the Britons. Running streams were the objects of superstitious reverence among the Celtic races, and this stream ran through the centre of the ancient camp, alluded to in a former Paper.

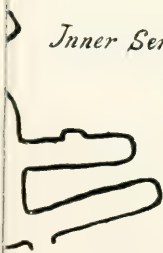
a further study of them has been made, together with a survey by experienced mining engineers (see accompanying Plan): and the results go a long way towards proving that these chalk galleries have been the work of successive ages. The earliest are those which, by way of distinction from the outer and inner series of workings, are now known as the middle series; and as these are immediately connected with the dene-holes, they are doubtless of Celtic origin, and bear the impress of a people well advanced in art. That they are not merely galleries formed for the purpose of obtaining chalk and flints must be apparent to any visitor who will devote a few minutes to their examination; they are regularly formed, symmetrical, and in many places very beautiful in their curved and well-proportioned outlines. The finishing work, too, has been executed with a due regard to evenness, particularly in the dressing of the lower walling, which has been done with a finely-pointed wrought-iron pick, with a slightly curved angular blade. Age, too, has improved them by removing the asperities; or, in other words, Old Father Time has planed down the irregularities, leaving the surface softened to the eye, so that at the distance of a few yards it appears not unlike marble. It is noticeable that in a few places—not many—flints project from the walls; but these have only been left where it would have been difficult to break or remove them without defacing the general regularity of the work.

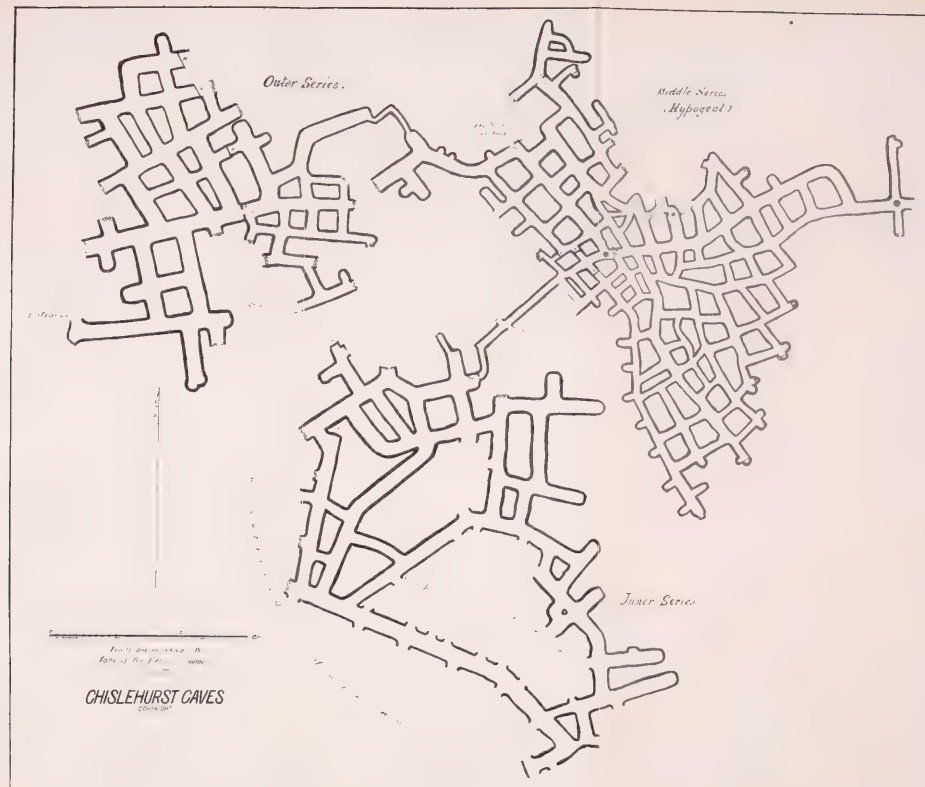
The width of these galleries varies, but may be taken as 9 ft., narrowing so considerably towards the roof as to give them the appearance of an arcade; there is, however, a roofing of some 3 ft., formed by the under-side of a horizontal stratum of chalk, which is fairly regular throughout. The flooring is remarkably level: it is of chalk-breccia, without any admixture, and might be natural or artificial, but is probably the latter: the small chalk of excavation making a soft macadam easily levelled, and remaining true in the absence of much use of the caves, whilst equally absorbent of flood-waters with the solid chalk. There would be a grouting of sand super-added from time to time through the dene-holes, and

*Middle Series.
(Hypogeal)*



Inner Series.





this would be levelled by the temporary flooding; the general freedom of the water from clayey matter would preclude any visible stain on the chalk walls.

The chamber alcoves, or altar recesses—all more or less of beehive shape—are about the same width and height as the galleries, but vary a little in their depth: they are at irregular distances apart, as will be seen from the Plan; but doubtless they have a meaning in connection with the wonderful labyrinth of which they form a part. It will be noticed also that in our progress through the galleries—*i.e.*, passing from left to right—these recesses are all on our left, and none whatever to the right hand, which is covered by the numerous galleries of the labyrinth, and which must in its entirety have been the true labyrinth as known to an ancient people. There is little doubt that these galleries were constructed not only for religious purposes, but were utilised to store grain and other valuable productions needed by a numerous population. These hypogeal works are so extensive, that temple, seminary, storehouse, and refuge, each to a certain extent distinct from the other, may at one and the same time have been included in them. At the eastern end are seen the finely-worked passages leading to the many altar-recesses and alcoves, from the 80-ft. shaft, which apparently has been the principal entrance to this portion of the caves; while on the western side are eight chambers, the use of which, in the present state of our knowledge, it is somewhat difficult to determine.

One thing of importance, however, has been proved by the plan, *viz.*, that most of the principal passages of the great labyrinth converge at the well-chamber, showing that the excavations were, as a whole, the work of competent men, and carried out on a systematically-conceived plan. That no “finds” of any kind have been made in this place need not cause surprise, when it is borne in mind that successive clearings of this portion of the caves have been made during the last fifty years by the late owner, Mr. Baskcomb, and others, who at intervals had them lighted up and invited friends to visit them: not one of whom appears to have had any knowledge of their

archæological importance. Previous to these visits, this portion of the workings must have been blocked up, perhaps for many centuries, or secretly entered by some small aperture, since blocked also ; otherwise it would be difficult to account for their present remarkable state of preservation, although the superstition of many generations may have contributed to that end. That they have been used for religious purposes there is little doubt ; the religious services of the Druids were mostly processional, and the outer galleries surrounding the labyrinth may have formed an ambulatory to be used in connection with this feature of their ritual. That no early markings occur on the walling, other than those made by the pick, is only to be expected, since, after the consecration of a place for such purposes, no one would have ventured to commit an act which their creed and religious customs would have accounted sacrilege.

The only people who visited this portion of the temple or seminary were the Druids and their pupils or students, who were a numerous body ; their religious teaching was oral, but the civil code and the sciences were taught by word of mouth or in writing, indifferently. It was this oral teaching that has left us with so little knowledge of these people, whose strength lay in secrecy and mystery. However, theirs was undoubtedly a great religion ; there is little doubt that it formed the primitive religion of mankind, and at one period covered—either directly or by its influence—the whole surface of the ancient world : its great seats of learning being established in Britain. Abaris, a British Druid, formed a school at Athens, Pythagoras a more important one in Italy : their great belief was in the transmigration of souls, their pre-existence and immortality, and the true theory of the heavenly bodies. Carnac in Brittany, Karnac in Egypt, and other places of the like character, derive their origin from the religion which had its head-quarters in Britain. South of the Tweed, in the Late-Celtic age, there were about forty tribes, occupying as many districts, which correspond approximately to our present counties, each community having its own temple and seminary ; and here their religious rites were performed, and the in-

struction of students was carried on. These students were numerous, among them being many of the younger nobility of Britain and Gaul, and they all learnt under a strict rule, which inflicted severe punishment on those who were neglectful of their duties.

It has been observed by the historian Hume, that "no religion has ever swayed the minds of men like the Druidic." The determined efforts of the Roman Empire to overthrow its supremacy, and if possible to suppress it altogether, prove that the rulers of the world had been made practically aware of its influence. A Druidic Triad, familiar to the Greeks and Romans, was: "Three duties of every man—worship God; be just to all men; die for your country." It was this last duty, impressed by a thousand precepts and examples, and not its religious tenets or philosophy, which caused Druidism to be marked out for destruction by an empire which aspired to universal dominion, and aimed at merging all nationalities in one state. The edicts of the Emperors Augustus and Tiberius proscribed Druidism throughout their dominions, and made the exercise of the functions of a Druidic priest a treasonable offence, as those of a Roman priest were made in the reigns of the Tudor sovereigns of England. But nations cannot be proscribed. The Druidic colleges in Britain, the only free state in Europe at this period, continued to educate and send forth their *alumni* to all parts of the Continent. Not till A.D. 43 did the second or Claudian invasion of Britain take place. It took ten years of incessant warfare to establish the Roman power on a firm footing in the south of the island; nor was it till seven years after the fall of Caractacus that the Roman State ventured to give its legions orders to carry out the leading object of the invasion: the destruction by force of arms of the Druidic *cori* or seminaries in Britain. The Boadicean war, and the death of eighty thousand Roman citizens, were the first results of these religious dragonnades.¹

Can it then be a matter of astonishment that a people like the Druids sought the recesses of the forest or underground passages as places of security, whether for religious

¹ Morgan.

teaching, or as a refuge from an implacable foe? Many of the early writers, including Pomponius Mela, allude to the Druids as imparting their doctrines to their disciples in secluded *caves* or forests. The peculiar position of the Cantii of this district, here surrounded by other tribes of certainly not a peaceful character, and in addition exposed to the risk of foreign invasion, made such a measure of precaution imperative: hence the great work of these people, as exhibited by these hypogeal passages and chambers, which even to this day extend over so large an area below the surface of Chislehurst.

In the outer series of galleries, which are probably Roman, it will be observed that the passages run in straight lines and at right angles, and are wider and less carefully finished than those of the middle series already adverted to. The walls, however, are not in the same condition as when they were originally formed. A later people, perhaps as late as the eighteenth century, have cut and hacked into them as far as the pick would reach, until in most places all semblance of their original form has been lost; they evidently found it easier and more convenient to obtain flints from these walls, rather than by opening fresh quarries. These galleries were originally about 16 ft. high, but there is now 4 ft. of sand (which for centuries has been washed down the shafts by floods) covering a well-levelled flooring of chalk-breccia. If any important "finds" are ever made, they will probably occur on this flooring; but it would be a huge undertaking to remove this great body of sand for such a purpose, even if permission were obtained and the necessary means forthcoming.

In this portion of the caves will be plainly seen the manner in which these galleries have been run through in straight lines in order to intersect the dene-hole chambers, the latter being lower in the vaulting than the former. Some of these chambers are in a good state of preservation, while others have but a segment left to show their original position. The shafts adjoining them have been filled with surface gravel and sand; but owing to the action of flood-waters these deposits are gradually sinking, and in consequence the natural filling of the galleries

here is only a matter of time. There is in this division of the caves a double dene-hole chamber, the only one yet discovered here ; and close at hand is a hiding-place in the roof, of which the entrance walling of chalk shows unmistakeable signs of wear, caused by the occupation of the place from time to time by human beings.

South of the centre shaft, in the middle or more ancient workings, are numerous galleries which, being choked up with sand, have in recent years been walled off. An aperture has been made in one of the walls and the sand partly removed, in order to give access to the more remote and less explored galleries, which appear to be of vast extent, taking a course to the east and south-east of those already described. A portion of these workings has been surveyed, and a few days given to their exploration and study may ensure results in this direction, which would be of permanent value in themselves, and might serve as a basis for the exploration of parts hitherto unexamined ; but it is doubtful whether in the district lying to the south of the workings shown on the Plan, the air is sufficiently pure to make an extension of the survey practicable. At present it is only possible to state that enormous quantities of chalk and flints have at some remote period been removed from these galleries : as regards the latter material, there are still heaps of flints lying in various directions, and broken to a size convenient for the "knapper" to fashion them for the firearms which were in use a century ago. An examination of these heaps shows that they have been left undisturbed since they were placed here : a sudden abandonment of the place having apparently occurred.

From the foregoing description it will be seen that the more ancient workings are in the vicinity of the two shafts shown on the Plan, and that they are of a very different character to the outer and inner series of excavations. There appears to be no doubt that the chalk from these workings was taken to the surface by means of these two shafts, and that it formed a huge rampart or vallum to the north and north-east of the camp already referred to, these being the weakest sides. A protection of this

character would not be lost sight of by a people whose knowledge of castrametation was certainly not inferior to that of the Romans.

But with the final discomfiture and overthrow of the Britons, the civilising power of a great people was brought to bear upon the country, and works of national utility were speedily set on foot. Let us consider for a few moments what London was at an early period of its history. The Wallbrook, which entered the Thames at Dowgate, separated two pieces of hilly ground, one on its eastern and the other on its western bank: on both banks was the rising city of Augusta, and at that time the only means of traffic and transport to and from Augusta was by water. To the west was swamp, to the north swamp and fen, backed by the impenetrable forest of Middlesex; to the east swamps and the river, which at high water formed an inland sea, bounded on the north by the Essex and on the south by the Kent and Surrey hills.

At this early period was commenced the south embankment of the river—the “wark” or “werke” which has left its name to the present borough of Southwark. The great lake of Augusta, bounded by the higher lands of Camberwell, Brixton, and Clapham, was being drained, and across the marshes ran the raised causeways of the Watling Street, from Deptford (the deep ford), and the Stane Street from Regnum (Chichester); a branch of the former left the Old Kent Road, and by way of Kent Street joined the Stane Street near Stone’s End and St. Margaret’s Hill, where a Roman settlement was being formed, its objective being the *trajectus* or ferry to Dowgate, by way of Stoney Street. Everything in the way of food or material had to reach the City by water communication, the former for the most part coming from the upper Thames Valley and the Essex uplands. But the rapid growth of an important city needed also an enormous quantity of material such as timber, stone, flint, chalk, etc., the last being required to an immense amount for conversion into lime, cement, or mortar, as well as for the foundations of important roads and buildings. The great public works generally, and those of a munici-

pality in particular, such as forts, river-embankments, bridges, and circumvallation, gave forced employment to thousands of Roman soldiers and enslaved Britons; and during a period of some two or three centuries, material for constructive purposes was being used as fast as water and (later) land transport could provide it. The city wall¹ alone, nearly three miles long, 20 ft. high, and 8 ft. to 9 ft. in width, must have taken little short of one hundred thousand loads, or yards, of material in its construction.

Where was all this material to come from? Chalk and flints were obtainable from the Lower Thames; but the navigation of, say, thirty miles of a tidal river, then only partly embanked, was at this period both difficult and dangerous for heavily-laden barges, though considerable quantities may have safely reached the two ports of Queenhithe and Billingsgate from this distant source of supply. There was, however, need of larger and more continuous deliveries of such material; and at length they were obtained from a district much nearer to the works then under construction—viz., Chislehurst.

The ancient trackway, which ran from the head of the camp at Chislehurst, and passed through Elmstead Wood and Blackheath to the Watling Street at Deptford, would give the facilities needed for transport; and many hundreds of carts, laden with chalk and flints, may have daily traversed this road in a continuous stream, and have emptied their contents into the barges awaiting them at Deptford, from whence in little more than an hour's tide

¹ Some forty or fifty years since, in pulling down some old almshouses in Cripplegate (I think they were Lambe's foundation), between Barber-Surgeons' Hall and Wood Street, the workmen came upon a considerable length of the Roman Wall, on which these almshouses had been built, and which ran in a westerly direction to the bastion in the adjoining churchyard. Being much interested in the work, the writer made daily visits to the spot, and can testify not only to the immense thickness and solidity of its construction, but also as to its composition, which was principally of stone, flints, and chalk-breccia, with alternate layers of Roman tiling. The quantity of lime, cement, or mortar was considerably in excess of that used in modern times, and was of so hard a nature as to require the use of specially-made iron chisels or wedges for its destruction.

they would reach their points of destination in the City.¹ The rampart of excavated chalk raised from the galleries below, as already mentioned, may have been the first portion attacked and removed; then followed further excavations: new galleries being formed, which in their course destroyed many of the dene-holes, and in many cases reached points to which the explorer of to-day would be unable to penetrate without extreme danger.

As regards the caves as a whole, and the extent of the galleries in particular, there is much to learn: in course of time more information may be forthcoming, and some "finds" made which will throw a stronger light upon the subject; but it will be apparent to every interested visitor that it must involve a considerable amount both of time and labour, if one individual is to accomplish such a work as the thorough and complete investigation and exploration of the Chislehurst Caves.

¹ There is the present road to Deptford, also of early date, which leaves the Common by way of West Chislehurst, *Coldharbour*, and Mottingham. This, though a little longer in the route, is of easier gradient, and may have caused the abandonment of the ancient track-way through Elmstead.



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 REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.L., East Rudham
 Vicarage, King's Lynn, Norfolk.

Auditors—R. H. FORSTER, Esq., M.A., and CECIL DAVIS, Esq.



Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, AUGUST 10TH, 1903.

After the lapse of exactly thirty years, the British Archaeological Association made Sheffield the headquarters of its sixtieth annual Congress. The president of the association this year is Mr. R. E. Leader, whose knowledge of Sheffield's interesting past is probably unexcelled by that of any other living citizen. Members of the Association were welcomed to Sheffield at the Town Hall in the afternoon, the Lord Mayor (Alderman Wycliffe Wilson) presiding over a brief and informal gathering in the reception rooms.

Welcoming the members in a brief and cordial speech, the Lord Mayor remarked that though there were many present at the Congress thirty years since who were not now amongst them, the number of places and objects of archaeological interest in Sheffield was now probably as great as three decades back. Though his (the speaker's) knowledge of archaeology was small, the Association had in its president one whose acquaintance with the subject was unequalled in Sheffield.

Mr. R. E. Leader, acknowledging the welcome on behalf of the Association, emphasised the fact that whatever else changed in Sheffield, as years went by, nothing altered the traditional hospitality of the City and Corporation. The local records bore testimony to the manner in which accredited strangers were welcomed by the City Fathers in the old days. It was not now, as in the distant past, the custom to take strangers to one of the leading taverns of the town. The present Lord Mayor would probably not care to entertain any distinguished visitors to Sheffield at "The Cock" or "The Rose and Crown," but his hospitality was none the less sincere. A railway guide he had picked up in travelling to Sheffield that day had described the place as "comparatively unattractive, but of unique importance in connection with cutlery." But there was a good deal that was very attractive to the archaeologist in Sheffield, and he hoped

the visit of the Association would have at least the effect of reviving interest in archaeology in the city and district.

After the ceremony at the Town Hall, the members walked across to the parish church, and there saw the charter, dated 1554, and signed by Queen Mary, constituting the "twelve capital burgesses," or, as they are now known, the church burgesses. Mr. J. R. Wigfull, one of the local secretaries, pointed out the features of the church, and read the following notes on

SHEFFIELD PARISH CHURCH.

The parish church of St. Peter has undergone so many alterations during the last 120 years, that little is now left of its original structure. The first church of which there is any record was erected in the early part of the twelfth century, possibly by William de Lovetot, the founder of Worksop Priory. A few stones, ornamented with chevron enrichments, and now built into the walls of the chancel, are all that remain of this early church. The tower and spire, together with parts of the interior of the chancel, are evidence of a church erected in the fifteenth century, and probably replacing that of de Lovetot. From drawings made in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the plan of this later church can be reconstructed with tolerable accuracy. The nave was of five bays, with aisles and a projecting porch on the south side. The easternmost bays of the aisles projected some four or five feet beyond the others, and their outer faces were continued by the transepts and aisles of the chancel. The piers of the nave were octagonal, and had battlemented caps similar to those now existing in the arcades of the chancel. The clerestory windows were of three lights, each with cusping in head. The projection in the aisles of the nave probably contained the seats of the lord of the manor and patron of the living. A sketch-plan, showing a proposed re-seating of the north aisle after the widening at the end of the eighteenth century, contains a square pew which probably fitted into the recess, and is labelled "The Duke's Closet." The chancel had aisles of two bays, the centre portion extended beyond these to the extent of another bay. The general plan here indicated is identical with that of the neighbouring church of Ecclesfield—a structure of late fifteenth-century date.

In the early part of the sixteenth century, George, the fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, erected a mortuary chapel for himself and his family. This is situated in the south-eastern angle of the chancel, and is known as the Shrewsbury Chapel. The monuments in this chapel render it the most interesting portion of the church. Under an arch between

the chancel and the chapel is the altar-tomb of the fourth Earl; on it lie the effigies of the founder and his two wives: Ann, a daughter of William, Lord Hastings, who died about the year 1520, and was buried here, and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Walden, knight, of Erith in Kent, who died in 1567 and was buried at Erith, and not, as erroneously stated on this monument, in this chapel. The fourth Earl died in 1538. In the centre of the chapel is an altar-tomb of later date; it bears the arms of George, the sixth Earl, together with those of Gertrude Manners, his first wife, and those of their four sons. The late Mr. Samuel Mitchell, who had seen the accounts, said this monument was "the work of Roseymond the Burgundian, in the years 1584-5, and that the artist was paid for it £20, by George, sixth Earl of Salop." The Earl probably became dissatisfied with this somewhat unpretentious monument, as between this date and his death in 1590, he erected a lofty monument at the south side of the chapel. Here, under a canopy supported by Corinthian columns, is an effigy of the Earl. He is represented in armour, reclining on his side. A long inscription in Latin, from the pen of John Fox the martyrologist, sets forth the Earl's designation, family descent and achievements, and refers to his custody of Mary Queen of Scots.

The erection of this chapel seems to have been the last structural addition to the church, of which any traces remain previous to the alterations towards the end of the eighteenth century. In 1703 the church was damaged during a violent storm, and in the following year the chancel was repaired by the Duke of Norfolk. There is in existence a series of drawings signed by J. Carr, and dated 1771, showing the proposed re-casing of the chancel with moor stone. This was put on the outer face of the wall in slabs about 4 in. in thickness, and secured with iron cramps. At the same time the tracery of the windows was renewed. A note on Mr. Carr's drawing of the east elevation says, in reference to the east window of the Shrewsbury Chapel:—"N.B. The window in this part at present is very different from this window": a statement one can readily believe after an examination of the existing window, which follows the lines shown on the drawing. Amongst these drawings is one entitled "Mr. Carr's plan for a Repository;" it shows a chancel-house, and also a place for the town fire-engine to be housed. These were to be erected at the north-eastern angle of the chancel, and were probably intended to replace what has been elsewhere described as "an old deformed building, wherein the fire-engines belonging to the town are kept." This scheme, however, was never carried out. Another drawing shows a different treatment of this angle, practically on the existing lines, so

far as outward appearance is concerned. This scheme comprised a vestry, with a room over it for the use of the church burgesses. The building was erected in 1777, by the Duke of Norfolk from the designs of Thomas Atkinson, architect of York, possibly a successor of J. Carr, who was in practice in the same city.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the interior of the church presented a curious appearance. The seats, both on the floor of the church and in the galleries, were of all sizes and shapes. The chancel was a receptacle for dust and lumber. In 1790, a faculty was granted to widen the aisles and rebuild the outer walls. This is described as being "according to Wm. Lindley's scheme." The outer walls were rebuilt with four windows, as against the five bays of the nave arcade. In 1800, many schemes were prepared by William Lindley and others for completing the rebuilding of the nave and reseating it. Two years later a faculty was granted, and the work was completed in 1805, when the church was reopened. The arches leading from the nave were bricked up, cutting off the chancel entirely. The nave arcades were rebuilt, and the church was re-seated throughout. With slight modifications, this was the condition of the church up to the restoration of 1878-80. Then the galleries were swept away, the nave was lengthened, and north and south transepts and vestries were erected. In taking down the wall dividing the old vestry from the north aisle of the chancel, a fine fifteenth-century window was discovered. This has been refixed in the east wall of the north transept, and with the exception of those in the tower it is the only example of old tracery remaining.

An interesting document connected with church life in Sheffield is Queen Mary's Charter, preserved in the Church Burgesses' room. The charter is dated 1554, and has attached to it the seal of Queen Mary; it incorporated the "Twelve Capital Burgesses and Commonalty of the Town and Parish of Sheffield," and placed at their disposal the revenues of certain properties which had been diverted to the Crown during the reign of Edward VI. The parish registers are in good preservation, and date from 1560.

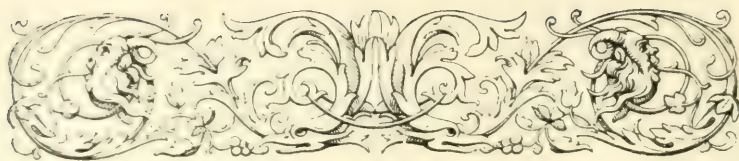
From the parish church the party were driven to Manor Lodge, where, under the guidance of Mr. T. Winder, A.M.I.C.E., surveyor to the Duke of Norfolk, they inspected the rooms said to have been occupied by Mary Queen of Scots during her imprisonment at Sheffield Castle. Mr. Winder made a most interesting and instructive guide, and related practically all that is known of the Manor; his notes on Sheffield Manor are published, pages 43 to 48.

In the evening the members and friends were entertained by the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, at a *conversazione* given in the reception rooms at the Town Hall. The guests were received in the Lord Mayor's parlour, and the first hour was given over to conversation, and the enjoyment of a programme of light music rendered by Mr. Charles Harvey's orchestra. The members of the Association and visitors who were present included the president (Mr. R. E. Leader), Dr. W. de Gray Birch, Mr. I. Chalkley Gould, Mr. and Mrs. Ferrar, Mr. R. H. Forster, Mr. W. J. Nichols, the Rev. H. J. and Mrs. Dukinfield Astley, Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Russell, Mr. W. E. Hughes, Mr. Duppa Lloyd, Mr. Chas. Lynam, Mr. C. J. Williams, Mr. S. Rayson, and Mr. G. Patrick : Miss Winstone, Miss Bentley, Miss Scull, Miss Lynam, Mrs. Collier, Mrs. Pears, and others ; whilst among the local guests were Alderman Eaton, Rev. D. Haigh, Dr. John Stokes, Dr. Manton, Messrs. T. H. Waterhouse, Jos. Cooke, R. H. Holland, E. Howarth, and many others, whose names will be found on the list on pages 75 and 76, together with their wives and daughters. The gathering was a large and representative one, and rendered bright and attractive by the presence of so many ladies. Mr. and Mrs. Howard Wilson were with the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress. After light refreshments had been served in the Council chamber, the company present assembled to hear the presidential address from Mr. R. E. Leader. A paper of considerable local interest was expected from one whose name is so associated in the city with research into the archaeology of the district, and anticipations were more than realised in the admirable address delivered by Mr. Leader.

The Lord Mayor, in a few words, extended a welcome to the visitors who had arrived since the afternoon, and introduced Mr. Leader to the gathering.

After the presidential address, which will be found on pages 1 to 14, a hearty vote of thanks to the president was carried ; and Mr. Leader, in responding, said that he had tried to take a "Brightside view why Sheffield is Sheffield," a remark which caused considerable laughter.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 20th, 1904.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The following members were duly elected :—

Mr. MacMichael, of Hammersmith.

Mr. M. Cooke, of "Tankerville," Kingston-on-Thames.

The Phoebe A. Hearst Architectural Library, Superintending
Architects' Department, New York, care of Mr. John Galen
Howard, of 156, Fifth Avenue, New York.

The Albert Museum, South Kensington.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—

- To the* Royal Institute of British Architects for "Journal," vol. xi,
Nos. 1—5, 1904.
.. Somersetshire Archaeological Society for "Proceedings," 1903.
.. Royal Dublin Society for "Scientific Proceedings," vol. x,
Part 1 ; "Economic Proceedings," vol. i, Part 4.
.. Wiltshire Archaeological Society for "Inq. P.M.," from the
reign of Henry III. ; "Magazine," December, 1903.
.. Smithsonian Institution for "Annual Report," 1902 ; "Con-
tributions to Knowledge," vol. xxix, 1903 ; "Contributions
to the Hodgkins' Fund," 1903.
.. Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley for "Extracts from the Oldest
Registers of the Parish of Syderstone, Norfolk," 1903.
.. W. Essington Hughes, Esq., for "Archæologia Cantiana,"
1887.

Some curious books were exhibited by Mrs. Collier, including a small book of emblems, *Typus Mundi*, which was published at Antwerp in 1627, some of the illustrations being very quaint ; 4

Papist Misrepresented and Represented: or, a Twofold Character of Popery, 1685; and a small copy of *Paradise Lost*, 1711. Mr. Andrew Oliver exhibited some excellent photographs of an ancient font, unfinished, discovered buried under the flooring of the nave of Staughton Church, Hunts.

The Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley read a Paper entitled "Portuguese Parallels to the Clydeside Discoveries," the first part of which is published in this issue of the *Journal*, pp. 49-63; and Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., read a Paper on "The Forest of Galtres, Yorks," which will be published. The Chairman, Mr. Gould, Mr. Forster, and others took part in an interesting discussion which followed.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 17TH, 1904.

MR. C. H. COMPTON, V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library:—

- To the* Exeter Diocesan and Archaeological Society for "Transactions," vol. ii, Part 2, Third Series.
- „ Essex Archaeological Society for "Transactions," vol. ix, New Series, Part 2.
- „ Royal Archaeological Institute for "Journal," vol. x, Second Series, Part 3.
- „ Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland for "Journal," vol. xxxiii, Part 4.

Mr. I. Chalkley Gould remarked that the Association had done some good by going to Sheffield last year, when they sent a petition to the Duke of Norfolk with regard to the preservation of the old British camp at Wincobank. This, with some additional land, had been presented to the town by the Duke on his marriage. The Chairman proposed a vote of thanks to his Grace, which was carried by acclamation. Mr. W. J. Nichols read a second Paper on "The Chislehurst Caves and Deneholes," which is published in this issue of the *Journal*, pp. 64-74; and Mr. R. H. Forster followed with a Paper on the same subject, from an entirely different point of view, which will be published. A lively discussion ensued.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 16TH, 1904.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The following member was duly elected:—

Mr. Emanuel Green, F.S.A., Devonshire Club, S.W.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—

To the Smithsonian Institution for the "Annual Report of the Board of Regents," for the year 1901.

.. Brussels Archaeological Society, for "Annual Report," 1904.

The Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley exhibited a photograph of a Neolithic fireplace, discovered in 1903, at Shawalton, N.E., by Mr. T. Downes. Numerous arrowheads, spearheads, and celts were included in the find. The fireplace, perfect when discovered, was in the shape of a basin, and filled with burnt wood and bones. This discovery is the more interesting from being in the neighbourhood made famous by the much-debated finds of Messrs. Bruce and Donnelly at Dumbuck and Dumbuie.

Mr. Astley also exhibited a large photograph of the six coffins (each containing an almost perfect skeleton) discovered during the recent excavations on the site of the great abbey church at Bury St. Edmunds. One of the skeletons has been identified as that of Abbot Samson, who died in 1211, and has been immortalised by Carlyle in his commentary on the "*Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*," in *Past and Present*. Some photographs of the ancient Saxon church at Bradford-on-Avon were also exhibited by Mr. Astley, one showing the exterior as it now appears after the removal of all the surrounding cottages. Canon Jones, who first brought it to light, identified it with the *ecclesiola* mentioned by William of Malmesbury as having been built by Aldhelm, first Bishop of Sherborne, at the close of the eighth century; but recent study of the architectural details, as exhibited by the pilaster strips and the *porticus* on the north side, has shown that it is later than the time of Aldhelm, probably about 975. A photograph of the interior showed the east wall of the nave with the quaint chancel arch, hardly larger than a doorway, and considered to be the smallest in England. A view of the Bridge Chapel was also given. It is hoped that a visit to Bradford-on-Avon will be included in the programme of the Congress at Bath, in August.

A paper was read by Mr. Andrew Oliver, dealing with the ancient appearance of Whitehall and the Thames, and the history of the numerous stately buildings which once lined the ancient thoroughfare of the Strand. The paper was profusely illustrated by old engravings, maps (including Ralph Aggas's and that of Hoefnagel, 1560), and plans and views of Whitehall at various dates. These comprised Inigo Jones's design for rebuilding the Royal Palace, of which the present Banqueting House (now the United Service Museum) was the only part carried out.

Mr. Patrick read a paper by Mr. C. Lynam upon the remarkable Saxon doorway on the west end of the north wall of the ancient church at Laughton en-le-Morthen, Yorkshire, which was visited by the Association during the Congress last year. The paper was illustrated by sketches made on the spot, and by geometrical drawings to scale.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. L. C. Gould, Mr. Astley, Mr. Compton, Mr. Patrick, and others took part.

ADDENDUM.—In our report of the Meeting held on December 16th, 1903, the account of the following exhibitions was accidentally omitted, viz. :—

Mrs. Collier exhibited a portfolio of plates, being reproductions of rubbings taken from the very curious figured rocks in the valley of Fontarabia, by Mr. C. Bicknell, of Bordighera. The historian Geoffredo, about 1650, wrote of these figured rocks in his history of the Maritime Alps, reprinted at Turin in 1824. The rocks are of various colours, engraved with a thousand figures of quadrupeds, birds, fish, military implements shields, etc., supposed to be the work of the ancient Carthaginians. Mr. Bicknell's investigations have been recorded by the Ligurian Society of Natural Science at Genoa.

Mr. Cato Worsfold exhibited several specimens of ancient ironwork discovered in various parts of London, one being an iron tally with the numerals $3\frac{1}{2}$ upon it, from the site of the old Bear Pit in Southwark, and another the top of a halberd or spear dug up in Whitechapel. He also exhibited as a warning one of the many forgeries of "Billy and Charlie," in the shape of a medal, which was found when excavating at Charing Cross Station in 1860.

Miss Bentley exhibited a tray of tokens of various dates, one of Van Diemen's Land.



Obituary.

MR. WILLIAM HENRY COPE.

Mr. W. H. Cope was the eldest son of the late Chas. Cope, Esq., of 58, Euston Square, and was born September 8th, 1818, and died March 31st, 1903. He had been for forty years a member of this Association, and was an authority on the subject of ancient ecclesiastical stained glass and on old Plymouth china, on which he contributed Papers, published in the *Journal*, in 1882. He directed in his will that his collection of ornamental china, jade, and old German and Venetian glass should be sold. His widow only survived him a very few weeks.

SIR ALBERT WOODS.

Sir Albert Woods, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.S.A., who died January 7th, 1904, aged 87, had been a member of this Association for fifty-nine years, and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries for fifty-six; while his connection with the Heralds' College extended over the unprecedented period of sixty seven years. Since 1868 he had held the office of Garter Principal King-of-Arms. Although a genealogist of considerable repute, Sir Albert Woods does not appear to have contributed any papers to the *Transactions* of the Society of Antiquaries, and only one contribution from his pen appears in our *Journal*, vol. vii, p. 71.

REV. S. F. CRESWELL, D.D., Etc.

The Rev. Samuel Francis Creswell, D.D., for twenty-five years rector of Northrepps, Norfolk, died early in March at his rectory, at the age of seventy. Educated at King's College, London, and St. John's College, Cambridge, he was ordained in 1860. He was subsequently curate of Hildenborough, Head Master of Dartford Grammar School, and Chaplain to St. Mary's Home, Stone. He went to Ireland in 1870, and was Principal of the High School, Dublin, from 1870 till 1879, when the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster presented him to the rectory of Northrepps. He had been a member of the Association since 1861, and a constant attendant at its Congresses, but contributed no papers. He had, however, written elsewhere on the antiquities of his native county of Notts.



THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British Archaeological Association.

AUGUST, 1904.

THE CHISLEHURST CAVES.

BY T. E. AND R. H. FORSTER.

(Read February 17th, 1904).



THESE excavations are very extensive for chalk workings — perhaps the most extensive in this country ; but the survey, so far as it goes, has proved them to be smaller than is generally imagined ; on a first visit the place seems almost interminable, but distances underground are notoriously deceptive, especially to those who are not used to underground work. The workings shown on the plan cover an area of less than twenty acres.

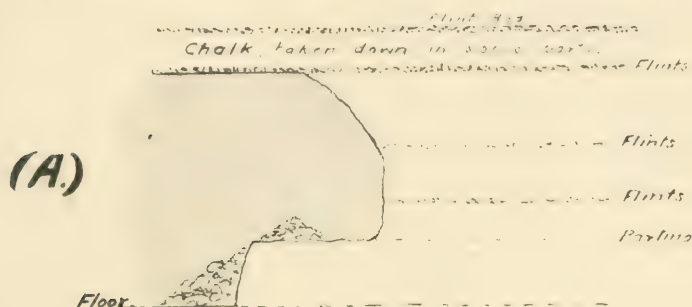
That the caves have been a chalk mine, or rather a series of chalk mines, we have no doubt whatever : they have been worked on systems commonly used in mining, and exhibit the characteristic features of mines in almost every detail. The middle series of workings in particular bear so strong a resemblance to some of the old High Main coal workings in the neighbourhood of Newcastle, that it is possible to conjecture that this portion has been worked under the management of an expert pitman from that district. These old North Country workings

date approximately from the early years of the eighteenth century : their galleries have been dressed up with the pick in just the same fashion as has been followed at Chislehurst ; their general character is similar to that revealed by the recent survey ; and the same practice occurs of driving small passages to prove the position of adjacent pits ; the 80-ft. shaft is of the diameter—6 ft.—commonly sunk in Northumberland at the period mentioned, and it has apparently been closed in a manner which, unfortunately, was too often used at the same date—by a timber scaffold with a covering of earth—though here the danger is lessened by the fact that an open drain-pipe has been inserted to mark the place. This shaft has a masonry lining through the Thanet Sand, and there is no reason to suppose that this lining is not as old as the shaft itself. It is not improbable that the other shaft—that which contains a drain-pipe from a garden on the surface—is a little older than the 80-ft. shaft : the latter may have been sunk when the development of the mine in that direction made the barrowing of the chalk from the working-places to the drain-pipe shaft a laborious business. The flooring of this portion of the workings is undoubtedly in its original condition : and except where there has been a drip of water from the roof, the marks of the barrow-wheels are everywhere discernible ; some lead to one shaft and some to the other, according to the quarter of the mine in which they occur, the largest and deepest rut of all being that which enters the straight passage leading to the 80-ft. shaft, at the point where all barrows going to that shaft must have converged. Barrows were at one time used in coal mines for the purpose of conveying coal from working-places to the shaft, and the terms “barrow man” and “barrow way” long survived the introduction of other methods of transport. Possibly barrows remained in use at Chislehurst after trains, or wooden sledges, had become common in collieries.

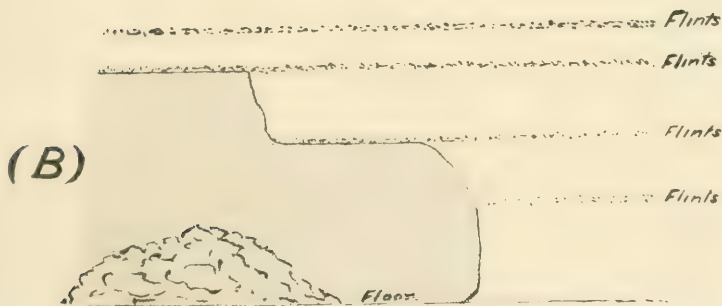
The thickness of chalk worked appears to average from 10 ft. to 12 ft. In working beds of a similar thickness it is usual to follow one of two systems :—(1) So much

of the upper portion as can be conveniently removed at one working is first extracted, leaving the lower portion as a step or shelf, or as it is technically called a "bottom

SECTIONS SHEWING, (A) BOTTOM CANCH WORKING.



(B) TOP CANCH WORKING.



Scale, 8 feet to 1 inch.

canch," on which the miner stands as he drives his working-place forward; when that working-place has been driven forward for a convenient distance, the lower portion, or "bottom canch," is taken up. (2). The bottom portion is taken out first to a convenient height, leaving a "top

canch" which is "dropped," or taken down afterwards: the miner standing on the loose material already dislodged in order to reach it. It is evident that the middle mine has been worked on the former of these systems, and the inner and outer mines on the latter.

The advantage of working with a "bottom canch" was that greater care could be used in dressing up and arching the roof, and by that means the mine was made more secure. It is clear that the manager of the middle mine was an exceedingly careful and cautious man, and this portion of the caves is accordingly safer than the rest. He must have had also a fad for order and neatness—not by any means an unknown trait—and not only had the sides and arching of the passages carefully tooled, but he did the same with the working-places before the mine was given up. If—as is most probable—the mine was worked under a lease from the lord of the manor, that lease would contain a covenant to leave the mine in a safe condition and in good order at the end of the term; and in this case the covenant has been faithfully performed. One can also tell that he was an experienced and economical pitman, from the fact, that wherever practicable, he has driven forward along a *jack* or natural fissure in the chalk; these *jacks* may be noticed in many places, and are generally distinguished by the smoothness of the side-wall, and a redness of the surface caused by the infiltration of water from above. Driving along a *jack* would lighten the labour of excavation, and would also save a great deal of work in dressing up the surface. It is this utilisation of *jacks* that has caused these middle workings to be more irregular in outline than the outer mine.

The fact that the system of working with a "bottom canch" was followed in the middle mine affords a simple explanation of the supposed altar-tables: they are evidently portions of the "bottom canch" which have been left for the miner to stand on, as he continued the working of the upper part of the chalk. In some cases, the whole of the "bottom canch" has been removed before the mine was given up, but in several cases a few feet have been left, forming a shelf or table.

The supposed dene-hole chambers in the outer workings, or first mine, appear to be working-places where the lower part of the chalk has been taken out and the work abandoned before the top was brought down. The double-ended dene-hole chamber is simply a double working-place: one end shows where the passage or gallery was to be continued straight forward, and the other where a cross passage was to be turned away to the left, and would eventually have formed another pillar by joining the adjacent passage which, as shown in the plan, has been blocked by a fall. In just the same manner we find most of the "altar-recesses" in pairs, and approximately at right angles. A glance at the plan will show how the driving forward of these places would have formed fresh pillars, if the work of the mine had been continued.

The fact that the ends of these places are curved, both horizontally and vertically—thus forming recesses which have been described as beehive-shaped—is perfectly consistent with the ordinary course of working: the miner has a natural tendency to work the middle of the place forward before the sides up to a certain height; while the vertical curvature or doming of the upper part is due to the curve described by the stroke of the pick, as that portion is hewn down.

Before leaving this section of the caves, it is necessary to say something of the well, which is a circular shaft, about 5 ft. in diameter and at present 40 ft. deep, sunk in a chamber opening out of one of the main roads. That it has been used as a well at some period is beyond dispute: the iron bar fixed above the mouth would not be strong enough for any other purpose than the raising of water. But it does not follow that it was designed and sunk as a well. Very possibly it may have occurred to the manager of the mine to put down a subsidiary shaft, or "staple" as it would be called in the north, in order to prove what depth of chalk he had below him, and what was the quality of the chalk at a lower level: especially as the lower chalk had the reputation of being better for agricultural purposes than the upper. In this

case he would naturally sink in such a position as would not interfere with the work of the mine ; and from an inspection of the plan it will be seen that a suitable site was selected. It seems not unreasonable to suppose that the first use of the place as a well occurred when Mr. Baskcomb began to use a not-far-distant part of the workings as an underground garden.

As already stated, the first and third, or outer and inner, series of workings have been carried out on a different system, and with a less degree of care ; a greater quantity of chalk has been extracted, and these workings generally are less secure than the middle mine ; in some parts of the third series in particular—the part last surveyed—there have been some bad falls of chalk from the roof ; and at one point in this district there is a pillar of extraordinarily small dimensions—about 5 ft. by 4 ft. at the thinnest part. There is no ground whatever for supposing that these workings—the first and third series—are not in their original condition. If they had once been similar in the middle mine, and resorted to at a later date for further supplies of chalk or flints, it is not likely that the workers would have worked all round the pillars : it would have been easier to have taken the same amount in one strip from one side of each pillar ; and in any case we should certainly have expected to find some trace of the process—some pillar only partially stripped.

So far as can be judged, practically all the places which have been described as filled-up dene-holes are simply what in mining are termed ‘ falls ’—*i.e.*, places where the chalk roof has given way, and the sand, gravel, and surface soil lying above the chalk have fallen through. The large pot-holes in Chalk-pit Wood are certainly due to this cause, though no doubt the action of the weather has enlarged them since the ‘ falls ’ first took place. Such pot-holes are not at all uncommon in mining districts.

These ‘ falls ’ occur mainly in two directions—(1) where the workings approach the western slope of the hill, and (2) in the neighbourhood of the dene, or hollow, which runs up the hill from point a little to the south of the

present entrance to the caves. In the first case it is possible that some of the "falls" are really the blocking-up of drifts or adits by the collapse of the cliffs of Thanet Sand soil lying above their original entrances. In the second case, the dene or hollow has at some remote period been scooped out by a considerable stream, which seems to have washed away a large part of the Thanet Sand, leaving a thinner and weaker covering overlying the chalk, so that a "fall" has occurred in the mines wherever the chalk roof has been worked too thin. "Falls" of the former class are very numerous in unsurveyed workings to the west and south-west of the part last explored, showing that in this neighbourhood we are very near the slope of the hill. We may, therefore, conjecture that the workings do not extend far to the west of those shown on the plan, and it does not seem likely that they go much further to the south-east. To the south they may extend for a considerable distance; but south of the most southerly gallery shown on the plan the quality of the air is such as to make surveying somewhat unpleasant: though in the gallery mentioned, and to the north of it, some chance system of natural ventilation is at work, and the air is perfectly good. However, there is no reason to believe that these unsurveyed workings differ in any respect from the adjacent district which has been surveyed, and enough has already been examined to show the general character of the place.

As to the relative age of the three series of workings, it is probable that they are, roughly speaking, contemporaneous. If there is any difference in date, the middle mine is the most recent. Those who have visited the caves will remember the narrow passage leading from the outer to the middle workings, and a similar passage leads from the latter to the third mine. Now, the character of the tooling in these passages, and their direction as shown on the plan, make it clear that they were driven from the middle mine in order to prove the position of the other workings, and not *vice versa*; the manager of the middle mine must have known of the existence of these other workings; he must have

suspected that he was approaching them, and accordingly he drove these small passages to test his position. In each case, it will be seen from the plan that he did not at first drive in quite the right direction, and so was forced to make a turn before he could hole through into the workings that he wished to prove. It is clear, then, that the first and third mines must have been in existence, and may have been in operation, at the time when the middle mine was at work : the manager of the middle mine would find that the western face of his workings was approaching the eastern face of the third mine—at one point they are very little more than 10 yards apart—and he seems accordingly to have cleaned up his working-places, and gone no further in that direction.

If this supposition be correct, it implies a fair amount of skill in underground surveying, and so may possibly set a limit to the antiquity of the mines ; and other indications point the same way, apart from the broad fact that without some knowledge of surveying these workings could hardly have been carried on. The most northerly point of the outer mine comes close to the road up Chislehurst Hill, and there stops short ; there is no blocking of the passage by a fall, but simply a dead-end. The most northerly part of the middle mine—that part which Mr. Baskcomb used as a garden—penetrates only a few yards beyond the line of the same road, and stops short in the same manner. It is not improbable that the road was the boundary of the districts leased to the owners of these two mines ; for in the second case it would need a very small error in the survey to cause a slight unintentional trespass, such as seems to have occurred : such cases are not uncommon in mining, and men who could ascertain their position with this approach to accuracy did not belong to an early period.

To what period they and their mines actually belonged is a question hard to answer with any degree of certainty. It may be that the cellars of some solicitor's office contain the clue in the shape of a lease or counterpart of a lease from the royalty-owner : who, as the whole of the

surface was probably then waste land, was no doubt the lord of the manor; but at present the only indication of date is the resemblance between these mines and some of the old High Main workings near Newcastle, which are thought to be about two hundred years old.

It is possible that similarity of construction is not their only point of connection with the old collieries of Tyneside. The shipping of coal from the north to the Thames began as far back as the thirteenth century, and until comparatively recent times was carried on in sailing vessels, mostly of small tonnage, which made the return voyage in ballast: that ballast, as is proved by extensive deposits near the northern ports, was largely composed of chalk and flints, and it is possible that some of it came from Chislehurst.

It will be objected that ships would obtain ballast from places nearer the river, and so, no doubt, they would, if it were procurable; but when we consider the enormous quantity of ballast which must have been used in the course of five or six hundred years, it is not unreasonable to imagine that the sources of supply near the Thames were inadequate, or could not be worked fast enough, to meet the demand, and that some of the Chislehurst chalk was carted to Deptford to fill the deficiency. Mr. Nichols has referred to an ancient trackway leading from Chislehurst to Deptford; and it is possible either that the ancient road was brought into use again, or that the trackway is really an eighteenth-century cart-road, used for conveying chalk ballast to Tyne colliers. Certainly, the mouths of the two shafts of the middle mine are about on a level with the beginning of this road.

There is another consideration which makes this idea possible. That some of the produce of the mines was burnt into lime on the spot is proved by the existence of an old lime-kiln near the present entrance; the large mounds, which have been taken for part of the defences of an ancient camp, appear to be "tip-heaps," or deposits of refuse from this kiln, or of baring from adjacent quarries. Now, if coal were used in the process of lime-

burning, that coal would probably be carted from Deptford; and if the carts, instead of going empty to the river, could take a return load of chalk ballast, any price obtained for it from the ships would be so much to the good. No doubt, wood may have been used for lime-burning at one time, as it was used for smelting iron in Sussex; and, curiously enough, the latter industry died out, owing to the exhaustion of the wood supplies, much about the date already indicated as probably marking the commencement of the Chislehurst mines. The same exhaustion may have occurred here; for the timber in Chalkpit Wood and thereabouts appears to be less than two hundred years old. As to lime-burning before such exhaustion, it must be remembered that before the commencement of these mines, there has been an extensive quarrying of chalk for a considerable distance along the face of the hill. Quarrying cannot be carried on indefinitely; it is a question of "cover"—*i.e.*, of the sand, soil, and other substances which lie above the material to be quarried, and must be removed as the work goes on. Any one who has visited the Chislehurst Caves and has noticed the cliff of Thanet Sand and soil which rises above the entrance, will see that no more open quarrying of chalk could have been carried on there; the cover to be removed would have been so heavy as to make the work unprofitable. Broadly speaking, every ounce of chalk that could be quarried at Chislehurst has been quarried long ago.

However, on the whole it is more likely that a considerable quantity of chalk was sent to lime-kilns on the banks of the Thames. There is no doubt that such kilns were in operation in the Greenwich neighbourhood in the early part of the eighteenth century: in 1720 an Act of Parliament was passed for repairing the road from the Stones End in Kent Street to the lime-kilns in East Greenwich. Such kilns must have used sea-borne coal, and in the manufacture of lime for export or the London market, it would be cheaper to cart the chalk to kilns situated near a spot where the coal could be landed and the lime shipped, than to cart the coal to the place where

the chalk was dug, and afterwards cart the lime to the river.

It is, no doubt, possible that there were at Chislehurst workings earlier than the main galleries shown on the plan: the dene-hole discovered at Camden Park is certainly more ancient, but in the neighbourhood of Chalkpit Wood the traces of older workings are very doubtful. The shaft on the hill above the entrance to the caves, which Mr. Nichols has had cleared, may or may not be older; and the same must be said of another shaft, the bottom of which, now filled up with a tightly-compressed mass of broken stone and other rubbish, may be seen close at hand on the right as one enters the caves. At present it is uncertain where the chalk from the outer mine was brought to day: the entrance now used is probably not the original main entrance: which on the whole is more likely to have been by one of the passages, now blocked, further to the north. But even if the bulk of the chalk were wheeled out by such a drift or adit, there may also have been one or more shafts for raising to a higher level chalk which was to be delivered for use on the more elevated land to the east. Chalk was extensively used for manuring clay land, and a large tract of such land lies to the east of Chislehurst. It would be far easier to raise the chalk needed for agricultural purposes to a higher level by a shaft, than to bring it out at the level of the present entrance, and then cart it up the hill.

There is, therefore, grave doubt whether any dene-holes of the type found in Essex and other parts of Kent exist in this quarter of Chislehurst at all: and even if undoubted examples should be proved, the case is not materially altered. In spite of the great learning and patient investigation which have been bestowed upon the dene-holes of Essex and Kent, the received theory as to their origin and purpose is open to grave objection; it is more probable that all were chalk mines of early date, though they may possibly have been used as places of refuge at a latertime, just as the De Beers mines were used during the siege

of Kimberley. The refuge and granary theories are theories pure and simple, and depend largely on the negating of the chalk-mine explanation by arguments which do not appear by any means conclusive. This chalk-mine theory was propounded by Mr. Roach Smith, and has been rejected by later investigators on several grounds, the chief objections being as follows :—

- (1) The shape of the excavations.
- (2) Their proximity.
- (3) The absence of intercommunication.
- (4) Their local position.
- (5) The difficulty of raising anything by their shafts.

To these objections the following answers may be suggested :—

(1) Their shape—the floriated or star-fish shape shown on Mr. T. V. Holmes's plans of the dene-holes of Hangman's Wood in Essex. This objection is in reality a strong confirmation of the chalk-mine theory. The gist of the objection seems to be that the shape differs from that of the bell-pit: but the plain bell-pit marks an earlier stage in the history of mining—earlier, that is to say, not necessarily in point of date but in point of development: just as we find contemporary races in different stages of culture, one for instance, being in the Neolithic stage, while another is in the Bronze Age, and a third in the Iron, so a primitive system of mining may have existed at the same period as one more advanced. The star-fish-shaped pit marks the next succeeding stage: it is an improvement on the bell-pit; it enables the miner to win more chalk at one sinking; and if no examples of it were known, it would be necessary to postulate its existence in order to supply the missing link between the primitive bell-pit and the pillared and galleried mine of the kind seen at Chislehurst. If we look at the plan of the typical dene-hole, we can see how easy it would have been to connect the branching excavations and form pillars; and the plans appended to the Essex Field Club's Report show that in some cases this was actually done.

(2) Their proximity.—The miner drove his chambers

or embryo galleries until the labour of moving the chalk to the shaft became excessive, and then he was forced to sink another pit : a rough measurement would show him how far he could extend his workings underground, and another rough measurement on the surface would determine the position of the next shaft. From the first pit he would learn the position of the chalk and its quality, and he would keep as close as possible to what he had already proved.

(3) The absence of intercommunication.—These dene-holes are certainly of considerable antiquity, and date from a time when an accurate underground survey was not possible ; therefore the worker of one mine could never tell exactly at what point he would hole through into the next. If he did so in a line with one of the branches or chambers, that would be safe enough ; but if in driving forward his chamber, he worked into one of the half-pillars or buttresses separating the chambers of the adjoining pit, a fall of the roof would almost certainly occur ; at any rate, it would be a danger known and apprehended ; and it is reasonable to suppose that as the sound showed that he was close to the next pit, he ceased working or turned his chamber in another direction. But, after all, there is no particular reason why there should be such communication. If the adjacent mine was abandoned, and possibly partially filled with sand, it was to the interest of the miner to keep a barrier between the disused workings and his own : though the plans of the Hangman's Wood dene-holes show that he has not always succeeded in doing so.

(4) The position of the dene-holes.—Much has been written of the "lunacy" of people sinking shafts to win chalk, when chalk could be obtained on the surface in the near neighbourhood. Setting aside the point that in mining, as in other matters, some people do foolish things even at the present day, this objection is based upon the assumption (1) that the land where the chalk is the surface rock was unoccupied, and (2) that the working and transportation of chalk to the point where it was required was more easily effected by open

quarries than by pits. As to the first point, it is very suggestive that we find such a collection of pits in Hangman's Wood—a place which must always have been waste land—while the tract where chalk is the surface rock was probably cultivated from an early date. Now, in certain parts of county Durham there formerly existed a right for the commoner to mine coal under the waste of the manor, and in many places a similar right to work stone existed. It is not impossible that some right or custom of a similar nature may have determined the locality of the Hangman's Wood pits. As to the second point, much depends on the thickness of the surface soil, and there appears to have been a prejudice against the top chalk: in Wiltshire, in quite recent times, chalk was won by mining, even where it was the surface rock. Quarrying involves the removal of the surface-soil and the restoration of the land when the work is finished; and it is by no means clear that quarrying would be an easier or less expensive method of obtaining chalk than mining; the former would throw valuable land out of cultivation for a considerable time, and might damage it permanently; while the latter, if the pits were sunk on the waste, could only cause damage by the deposit of the material dug from the shaft, and such damage would only affect land which was practically valueless. Again, if chalk were dug for chalking the clay-lands of Essex, it would pay to bring it to the surface as near those lands as possible, and save the extra transport from the more distant places where chalk is the surface rock. In early times the question of transport may well have presented greater difficulties than the question of mining; in other words, to sink even an 80-ft. shaft may have been a less laborious business than the cartage of every load of chalk over an extra mile.

(5) The difficulty of raising chalk by such narrow shafts.—This objection takes no account of the mechanical means available in early times. Without some modern form of geared winch, it would only be possible to raise a small quantity of chalk at a time from one of these pits, since the weight of 80 ft. of rope has to be

added to the load. Now, chalk is a heavy substance, about twice the weight of coal, bulk for bulk --and the quantity which could be raised at one lift with primitive appliances would occupy a small compass and could be raised by a small shaft. The smaller the shaft, the less danger of the sides of that shaft falling in, and the less labour needed to sink it. If the amount of chalk raiseable at one lift could be contained in something scarcely larger than a bucket, there was no need to sink a shaft wide enough to contain a much larger receptacle.

On the whole, the refuge and the granary theories seem less satisfactory than the chalk-mine explanation. An excavation in a damp substance like chalk would not be so suitable a storage-place for grain as to induce people to dig 80 ft. to reach it; and the difficulty of getting women and children into and out of places of this kind forms a grave objection. The danger of detection, too, would be extreme; for though the mouths of the shafts might be concealed by a wood, that wood is the first place an invader would search, if he found the neighbourhood recently deserted by its inhabitants. On the other hand, we have evidence that the Britons dug chalk to put on their lands, and that chalk was exported to the Continent in Roman times. Altogether, the amount of chalk which must have been used for one purpose or another in the course of many centuries is probably quite sufficient to account for all the chalk excavations of Essex and Kent. For export or ballast, the chalk nearest the river would be worked first; but as the growth of London and the increase of the coal trade enlarged the demand, other sources of supply would be tapped; and it is not necessary to suppose that the former would be worked out before the latter were touched.

In conclusion, while we regret that we are obliged to differ from Mr. Nichols, whose energy and enthusiasm have done such good service to the Association, we wish to express the opinion that the Chislehurst Caves are archaeologically of the highest interest. In a country where mining forms, and has for centuries

formed, so important a feature of industrial life, the origin and growth of mining must be of interest to archaeologists, and at present the archaeology of mining is almost unknown ground. We take a minute concern in the domestic life of the past, but so far we have done little towards investigating one of its earliest and most important industries; and, as throwing light upon the history and development of mining, the Chislehurst Caves are of first-rate importance.





PORTUGUESE PARALLELS TO THE CLYDESIDE DISCOVERIES.

By REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., F.R. Hist. S., F.R.S.L.

(Continued from p. 63.)



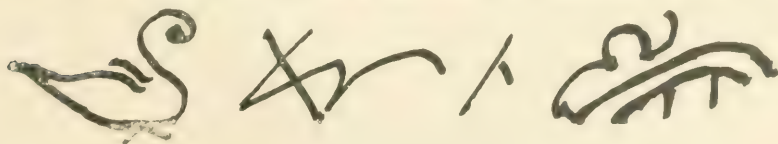
IN the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (1900-1901) is an article by Dr. Henderson on "Brochs," in which this amulet is figured and described. It is a small stone disk, the size of a half-crown. One small piece of bronze, bones, and the rudest possible pottery, were found in the same broch.

On one side of the disk is an inscription, within boundary lines, of which the following is a copy :—

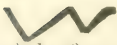



These characters all occur on undisputed Iberian inscriptions, within boundary lines, and may be seen figured in Cartailhac's *Les Ages Préhistoriques de l'Espagne et du Portugal*.¹ They bear a certain superficial resemblance to runes, and have recently been submitted to Professor Wimmer, the celebrated Runic scholar; but, as might have been expected, and as happened in the case of the Dighton inscription mentioned below, he has not been able to make anything of them.

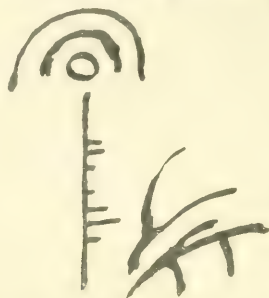
On the other side of the disk are the following signs :





¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 269, 271.

The signs  and  are familiar. The bird (goose or swan) before the signs is familiar in Egypt.

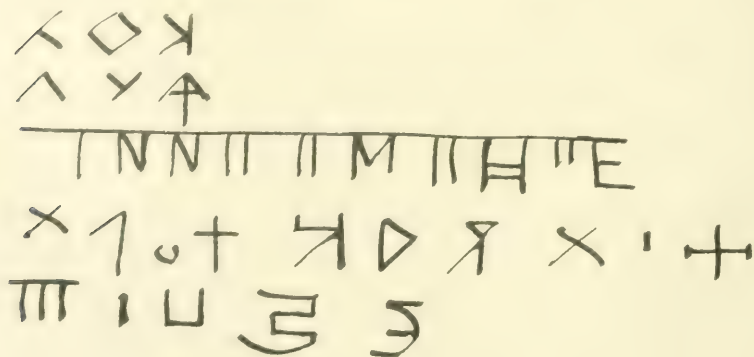
Curiously enough, however, signs which bear a remarkable resemblance to the two final characters on the disk inscription appear on the amulet from Langbank, figured in my Paper, "Some Further Notes on the Langbank Crannog," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. ix, New Series, pp. 59-64, viz.—



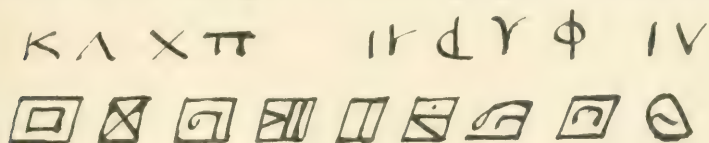
The final character  looks like a *reversed* Greek *Sampi* , which soon went out of use. If the Langbank amulet is not genuine, the only inference is that the Clyde forger, if such a being exists, must have seen the Keiss disk and consciously copied it, with slight variations.

In order to exhibit in one view the world-wide prevalence of these "alphabetiform" signs among prehistoric and present-day primitive races, I transcribe here some of the most remarkable.

1. Some tattoo-marks of the Motu Motu tribe, referred to above :—



2. Examples of numerous runiform characters on the pottery of the Chirighi (an extinct people in Panama):—



The writer on the Chirighi, Mr. W. H. Holmes, says that the signs were ready to hand, and would be used as letters if wanted. The Chirighi could work gold and copper, but mainly used Neolithic tools.

3. On an amulet from Ballinderry, of which I gave a drawing in my Paper on "Ornaments of Jet and Cannel Coal," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. vi, New Series, pp. 164 to 188, there are to be seen a series of characters in one corner, which look as though they were an inscription, and have been described as being of an Ogamic or Runic nature: the rest of the amulet being covered with dots and small circles.

The following are the signs:—



Of this amulet, as well as of some bone-pins similarly inscribed, Dr. Munro says: "I doubt the genuineness of pins and amulets," apparently solely on account of the alphabetiform characters.¹

4. The "painted pebbles" from Mas d'Azil contained many signs besides the alphabetiform ones, and are thus described by M. Piette: (1) Pebbles of number, *i.e.*, having broad bands—one, two, or more—on them, up to eight. A similar practice existed in Egypt. (2) The same, ornamented. (3) Symbolic: (*a*) Simple crosses: (*b*) The solar disk (so-called). *e.g.*,

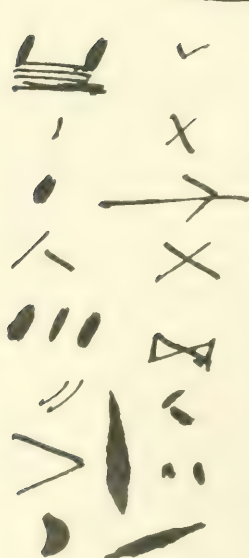
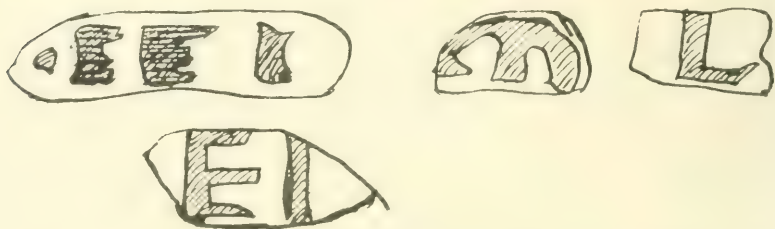


¹ *Lake-Dwellings of Europe*, p. 363.

With these may be compared amulets from Dumbuck, and the Portuguese dolmens; (c) The Tau Cross. (4) Pictographic signs, either serpentine, or



exactly resembling the Australian Churinga. (5) Alphabetiform, of which the following are examples: ¹



5. Owner's marks from arrows belonging to the Nydam "find" in Schleswig, resembling those on modern Esquimaux arrows. Such have also been found in Sardinia. The Nydam "find" belongs to the Iron Age.²

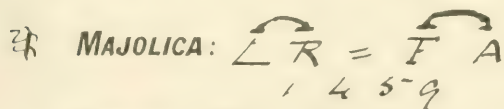
"There are characters like the Mas d'Azil ones," says Mr. Andrew Lang, "in prehistoric Egyptian, and in Motu Motu and Chirighi, more closely resembling the Roman than the Phœnician alphabet. Apparently, anywhere, at any time, such might occur in great variety. The alphabets were made, I suppose, out of selections of these signs, the choice varying in various places. The signs

were decorative at first, I presume, and then, being isolated from the pattern, became marks signifying something."

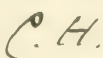
¹ *L'Anthropologie*, 1895 and 1896.

² *Prehistoric Times*, pp. 12, 13.

It is remarkable how close a resemblance many of these signs bear to European and other potters' marks, which were intended for purposes of identification, and are in many cases alphabetiform, without having any connection with any known alphabet. They are often merely arbitrary signs, formed of simple and natural lines and crosses, *e.g.*, those bearing the makers' initials:—

 **MAJOLICA:** $\angle \overline{R} = \overline{F} A$
1 4 5-9

ROUEN:  *H.B.*
1689

LAMBETH:  *C.H.*

But most are merely arbitrary, *e.g.*,




COLOGNE: 



SEVRES: 

GERMAN: 



ITALY: 

ENGLISH: CHELSEA :   

BOW:  

WORCESTER:   

BRISTOL:    

As an instance of the way in which antiquaries puzzle themselves needlessly, and make difficulties where a simple explanation such as that proposed in this Paper makes all clear, and also of the advance made in the last thirty years, reference may be made to the "inscribed rocks" in North America, which are of course of the same character, and belong to the same order, as those

described here, and to the rocks with cup- and ring-markings, dots, circles, spirals, ducts, etc.

"The most remarkable of these" (I am quoting Lord Avebury) "is the celebrated Dighton Rock, on the east bank of the Taunton river. Its history, and the various conclusions which have been derived from it, are very amusingly given by Dr. Wilson (*Prehistoric Man*). In 1873, the Rev. Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College, appealed to this rock, inscribed, as he believed, with Phœnician characters, for a proof that the Indians were descended from Canaan, and were therefore accursed. Count de Gebelin regarded the inscription as Carthaginian. In the eighth volume of *Archæologia*, Col. Vallency endeavours to prove that it is Siberian; while certain Danish antiquaries regarded it as Runic, and thought that they could read the name "Thorfim," with an exact though by no means so manifest enumeration of the associates, who, according to the Saga, accompanied Karlsefne's expedition to Finland in A.D. 1007. Finally, Mr. Schoolcraft submitted a copy of it to Ching-wauk, an intelligent Indian chief, who 'interpreted it as the record of an Indian triumph over some rival native tribe, but without offering any opinion as to its antiquity'."

Lord Avebury then mentions the small oval disk of white sandstone, on which were engraved twenty-two letters, from the "Grave Creek mound;" but adds: "this is now generally admitted to be a fraud;" and he concludes that "there is no reason to suppose that the natives of America had developed for themselves anything corresponding to an alphabet.¹

No! but there is equally no reason for not supposing that they had invented and used conventional signs, which had a meaning for them, like their primitive counterparts in Europe; and that meaning was indifferently a sign of ownership or of Totem family relationships; or, as above, and in the Kivik monument, a pictorial or hieroglyphic representation of some past event. Probably the *order* of invention was as I have given it. The choice of signs for sounds, the true alphabet, was reserved for other races and later times.

Taking into consideration, therefore, the fact that precisely similar marks of an alphabetiform character, and undoubtedly bearing a resemblance to runes, are found

¹ *Prehistoric Times*, pp. 257, 258.

among the tattoo-marks of a present-day savage race, as stated above, it seems more reasonable to conclude that all alike are signs "understanded of the people" by whom they were inscribed, and that they were, in the first place, signs of ownership; secondly, totemistic, tribal, and family badges; and, in the third place, most probably signs bearing a magical meaning, than that they were anything in the shape of legible inscriptions; and the resemblances to runes and to the Cretan script will be undesigned coincidences. Hence we conclude that Neolithic man was not acquainted with writing, in the true sense of the word. This is not to say that it is not possible for the Neolithic dolmen-builders of Portugal to have copied signs which were of real alphabetical significance in Cyprus and Crete, and which they came to know through the channels of commerce, and attached their own meaning to them. In just the same way the natives of New Guinea have been known to copy the letters of the English alphabet, without in the least understanding their meaning to us; and to have combined them in a way which may have a magical significance to them, but which do not form the words of their own or of any tongue.

With regard to the drawings, which, unlike the beautifully artistic work of the Palæolithic cave-dwellers, are of the extremest rudeness, resembling the first attempts of children at drawing upon their slates; these, again, are not unknown as relics of the Neolithic Age. Much water has run under the bridges since Prof. Boyd Dawkins wrote his *Early Man in Britain*, in which he said: "Neolithic men have not left behind any well-defined representations of the form either of plants or of animals;" and it is now a well-established fact that men in the Neolithic stage of culture did, and do, make rude attempts at drawing: of which many relics remain besides those found in Portugal. Examples exist from such various localities as Spain (skeleton sketches on pots), Neolithic Libya (rude scrawls), Prehistoric Egypt, and on the hard-wood clubs of Australian blacks.

Dr. Montelius figured a Neolithic drawing of an animal from Sweden, which is reproduced in my "Ornaments of

Jet and Cannel Coal," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, New Series, vol. vi, p. 184.

Don Severo speaks of the Portuguese drawings as representing the "extreme decadence of the Palaeolithic or Magdalenian art." Considering the fact that nowhere, or only in one locality, has the gap between Palaeolithic and Neolithic man been bridged, but that, on the contrary, the former appears to have vanished from the face of Europe before the vanguard of the Neolithic peoples arrived, it is more probable that these rude drawings represent the first beginnings of an entirely new and barbaric art, of which later, though still barbaric, examples are to be found at Halstatt and La Tène, and in the Mycenaean Age of the Eastern Mediterranean; and which was afterwards developed into the glorious art of classic Greece, and has continued unbroken to the present day. Of the art of Palaeolithic Man at his worst we have no examples: those examples which we have show him to have been a free, bold, and spirited artist.

I speak thus confidently about the gap between the Palaeolithic and Neolithic Ages, because it is in accordance with the latest views on the subject, advanced by so great a scholar as Dr. Hoernes.

These views agree with what Sir John Evans wrote in 1867, and repeated in 1897, as to Great Britain: "There appears in this country, at all events, to be a great gap between the River Drift and Surface Stone Periods, so far as any intermediate forms of implements are concerned; and here at least the race of men who fabricated the Palaeolithic implements may have, and in all probability had, disappeared at an epoch remote from that when the country was again occupied by those who not only chipped but polished their flint tools" (*Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, p. 704). In harmony with this view, it was pointed out by Sir John Lubbock (Lord Avebury, *Prehistoric Times*), that the only race at present existing at all resembling Palaeolithic people is the Esquimaux; and we must remember that it was during this gap between the last Glacial Period and the beginning of the Neolithic Age that the British Isles became severed from the Continent, and the so-called

Iberian or Neolithic race of Europe must have come hither across the sea.

In his Second Edition, however (1897), Sir John Evans notes that "several writers have attempted to bridge over this gap, or to show that it does not exist;" and he refers to *Journal Anthro. Inst.*, vol. xxii, p. 66, to Cazalis de Fondouce, to Brown, *Early Man in Midd.*, and to Worthington Smith, *Man, the Prim. Savage*.

He does not, however, refer to M. Piette's discoveries at Mas d'Azil in 1896, except to say of them: "In the cave of the Mas d'Azil was a layer of pebbles with various patterns printed upon them in red. Such pebbles have not as yet been found in any British cave deposits. Some of the designs curiously resemble early alphabetic characters. There is some doubt as the exact age of the contents of this cave, which not improbably may be Neolithic" (*op. cit.*, p. 485).

If this could be maintained, it might be adduced as an argument in favour of our Portuguese and Clydeside discoveries; it would be further evidence that Neolithic man knew how to write, or, at any rate, had begun to form an alphabet. But M. Piette was very strongly of opinion that there was no gap between the Palæolithic and Neolithic Ages—at least in France—and he assigned his "finds" to a period and to a race *between* the two, forming a kind of connecting link between them. He said of the characters on the pebbles: "They supply one of the sources of the Phœnician alphabet." If, however, they are alphabetical at all, and not mere signs, they are neither "early" nor "Phœnician," but altogether too late, because they undoubtedly exhibit what are neither Cretan, nor Phœnician, nor Runic characters, but almost perfectly formed *Roman* letters of the latest description, as shown above.

Dr. Hoernes, on the contrary, holds that, though it is possible that man may have continued to exist in the Ariège, for some climatic reason, during the last Glacial Period, there was a "simultaneous gap over the whole of the rest of Europe." His words are: "France is not the whole of Europe . . . and I believe in this gap, and I believe also in another yawning gap" between the

last Glacial Period and the true Neolithic Age"; and he locates the "pebble layer" at Mas d'Azil in the third Inter-glacial Period. His system, which differs from those of Mortillet (followed by Sir John Evans) and Piette, is as follows:—

I. First Glacial Period (Geikie, Pliocene).

1. First Inter-glacial Period: Deposit of Tilloux-Taubach (with *Elephas meridionalis*, *antiquus* and *primigenius*), or Chelléo-Mousterian.

II. Second Glacial Period: Gap (at least east of France).

2. Second Inter-glacial Period: Mammoth Age, or Solutrian (cave bears, lions, and hyænas).

III. Third Glacial Period: End of the Older Pleistocene Fauna: presence of Arctic animals (reindeer).

3. Third Inter-glacial Period:

- a. Reindeer Age, or Magdalenian, over the whole of Europe.
- b. Stag Age, or Asylian (Tourassian), in Western Europe).

IV. Fourth Glacial Period: Arisian (*étage coquillier*) in Southern France. Simultaneous gap over the rest of Europe.

4. Post-glacial: Neolithic Age.

The pebble layer at Mas d'Azil is located under 3 (b); and of the characters on the pebbles Dr. Hoernes says: "They have a great likeness to well-known later capital letters, engraved on stone;" and continues: "We must also bear in mind the resemblance or identity of individual marks of the transition period with those found upon engraved bones of the Reindeer Age, and of others with those found upon the dolmen slabs: but the *Galets Coloriés* can at present be reconciled with the culture of the old Reindeer Age just as little as with the Neolithic culture, which, when it is correctly placed, exhibits nothing of the kind." This latter remark Dr. Hoernes may see cause to modify, though as to its application

to the matter in hand, I wholly agree with him (Hoernes : *Der Diluviale Mensch in Europa*, pp. 8, 9, 79).

It is noteworthy that in the latest edition of his *Prehistoric Times*, published in 1900, Lord Avebury makes no mention of the "finds" at Mas d'Azil, nor of M. Piette, and consequently misses the opportunity of giving his opinions as to the significance of the *Galets Colorés*, and as to the continuity of Man from the Paleolithic to the Neolithic Age. Like Sir John Evans, too, he knows of only one Glacial Period, and for him the question of pre-glacial man is an important one. It is for this reason that I have given Dr. Hoernes's views so fully, the first time they have been brought before an English audience, because they so clearly demonstrate that, in his opinion, there were no less than *four* glacial periods in Europe, and that the earliest specimens of the human race ascend to the *first* Inter-glacial Period, immediately after the Pliocene. Of Tertiary Man Dr. Hoernes knows nothing. But although the earlier statements are thus rendered obsolete, the antiquity of man upon the globe is enormous, when one thinks what must have been the duration of these seven periods of alternating cold and heat, immediately before the present condition of things in Europe was ushered in.

To sum up. The evidence which has been adduced in this Paper from all available sources—sources which I have in every case tested by personal investigation—prove incontestably that all the four classes of objects found by Fathers Brenha and Rodriguez in the Portuguese dolmens, of which two and perhaps a third (the alphabetiform signs on the Langbank amulet) are among the "finds" made on the Clydeside, belong to people in the Neolithic stage of culture: whether in the true Neolithic Age (so-called) of Europe, or to the same Iberian races at a later date, after the Celtic invasions, and the introduction of bronze and even iron into common use—though apparently not by them—and to modern savage peoples in New Guinea, in Africa, in the South Sea Islands, and in Australia. They are the natural product of their life and ideas: a life in which society

was organised on a totemistic basis, and in which hunting, and, in certain localities agriculture, played a large part; and ideas, magical and religious, developed from animism, in which the world was conceived of as ruled by benign and malignant spirits, the former of whom could be propitiated by worship, the latter guarded against by the use of magic, amulets, and charms.

I have brought forward examples from widely-scattered localities, which are universally accounted genuine by the greatest scholars of the age: Mortillet, Montelius, Reinach, Cartailhac, Hoernes; not to mention Dr. Munro himself.

I ask, therefore,—and I think the question is a fair one—if all these which I have mentioned are genuine relics of Neolithic Man, why are the particular finds of Mr. Donnelly and Father Brenha (for these latter, as well as the former, have been pronounced to be spurious by some learned *savants* on the Continent, who have only seen the drawings, just as Dr. Munro pronounced the Clydeside “finds” to be spurious after a hurried and very perfunctory investigation) to be accounted as forgeries or as the work of some practical jokers? Is it too much to ask them to give the grounds of their belief; to point out how the genuineness of certain objects and the spuriousness of others is determined, and at the same time to lay their hands upon those who have fabricated the spurious objects?

All the objects alleged to have been found in the dolmens at Pouca d’Aguiar and on the Clydeside belong to the same order as those of acknowledged Neolithic provenance, and all these acknowledged genuine “finds” make the Portuguese and Clydeside “finds” by no means surprising. They rather prove that these were to be expected, and that they fall in with our previous ideas of what the social and religious condition of Neolithic Man was, even to the script-bearing amulets. If these latter are not genuine, they undoubtedly bear a most remarkable resemblance to admittedly genuine Neolithic relics; and there must either be a conspiracy among scientific men to deceive, or the same scientific forger or forgers must have been at work in Portugal and in Scotland.

I say "scientific," because whoever fabricated these objects must have been thoroughly competent and up-to-date. No ignorant forger could have done it. He, or they, must have been fully acquainted with all the most recent admittedly genuine "finds" and all the latest facts. Now, what scientific men are there who would be capable of thus playing a practical joke of a very aimless and foolish sort upon the scientific world? Surely this is a *reductio ad absurdum*; and, if these "finds" are not genuine, the mystery of their origin remains wrapped in impenetrable darkness until the forgers are brought out into the light of day.

In one instance, that of the Cross found on one of the rocks at Cochno (among others marked with the usual cups and rings, ducts and lines, as well as with footmarks like those found in Australia), which was confidently pronounced a recent fabrication, the discoverer was able to produce a photograph taken some time *previously* to the discoveries being made, which plainly showed the Cross on the rock! As a matter of fact, the Cross is one of the most ancient, most natural, and most universal of symbols; it is found among the signs on the great stones at Newgrange, and also at Dowth, in Ireland, and on prehistoric sites in Egypt, Babylonia, Asia Minor, Greece, and elsewhere, and the letters T and X are crosses.

I await, therefore, a triumphant vindication of the Portuguese and Clydeside discoveries, and their admission to an assured place among the evidences of the manner of life, and social, magical, and religious ideas of man in the Neolithic stage of culture, in ancient and modern times. The dolmens in Portugal are in all probability monuments of the Neolithic Age, and of the Iberian Neolithic race. The Clydeside "finds" are in all probability monuments of that same race at a considerably later period: though facts have recently been brought to light which show that they are probably not so late as the "finds" in the Langbank "Crannog" induced me to think possible. What I am now saying applies only to the two pile-structures at Dumbuck and Langbank; the rock-markings in the neighbourhood are, as I have said elsewhere, probably much older. At Langbank, as will

be remembered, two objects, a bone comb and a brooch, were found, which pointed to Roman times: the comb bearing Late-Celtic ornamentation.

It now appears that down to a recent time an island existed in the Clyde, which the process of dredging has caused entirely to disappear. In its disappearance objects of different dates may have become mingled, and thus the relics of Neolithic fisher-folk, dwelling by the riverside, are found alongside of those of their Celtic—or even Romanized—successors. At Dumbuck the relics of these Neolithic folk alone were found, including the great canoe, used either in war or in extended expeditions; and these aboriginal inhabitants of the district may possibly have been pursuing their avocations even down to the second century B.C.

The object of this Paper will have been accomplished if it has shown that the hypothesis of fraud and forgery in respect of “finds” which are at first sight unexpected and strange, though not unique, is, where there is good ground for believing in the *bona fides* of the discoverer, more difficult to hold, and more improbable than the hypothesis that they are genuine. Of course, the way is left open for *proof* of fraud, if such can ever be adduced.

Things have come to such a pass, and charges are so recklessly made, that, as Mr. Andrew Lang has said in his inimitable way—and with this I will conclude—“People who dig ought to do so in the presence of a worthy magistrate, a geologist, ten Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, Mr. Sherlock Holmes, and Mr. Maskelyne, the conjuror. Otherwise, to find anything unexpected is as dangerous to the character as to see a ghost. But there is no safety. I say, for example, that a site which I have found is Neolithic; B, who did not find it, says that it is of the Bronze Age. If I find Neolithic things, B. says I put them there; but if a bronze thing turns up, I am not allowed to say that B. dropped it there, and the same with intent to deceive. The hostile spectator is above the suspicion which falls on that very dubious character, the discoverer. . . . For my part, when in doubt, I hope that discoverers are honest; and the more unexpected the object found, the less likely I deem it to be forged, speaking generally.”

NOTE.

As exemplifying the extreme care shown by Don Ricardo Severo before admitting the account of the discoveries of Fathers Brenha and Rodriguez to the pages of *Portugalia*, I transcribe the following statement from a private letter which I received from him on March 4th, 1904:—

“From the moment that I observed the discoveries made by the Abbés Brenha and Rodriguez, I imposed upon myself the utmost reserve. I visited the necropolitan dolmens of Traz-os-montes, to submit them *in loco* to a rigorous archaeological and petrographic investigation, and submitted all the specimens to a methodical analysis. I also had them examined by some colleagues skilled in archaeology and mineralogy. It was only after this minute investigation, and at the end of four years, that I decided to accept the report of Abbé Brenha in my Review, and I accompanied it with my Commentary, in which I express my reservations, while admitting at the same time the clear marks of authenticity which almost all the specimens in the Brenha and Rodriguez collection exhibit.”

And he continues:—“The question of forgery or of mystification habitually arises in respect of discoveries, the strange novelty of which shakes the established dogmas or principles of science. Scientific criticism must necessarily exercise such praiseworthy circumspection: and I remember well the polemics roused by the first discoveries of engraved bones, down to those as to the engravings and paintings on the roof of the grotto of Altamira and others, now admitted to be perfectly genuine. As my Review is intended to fulfil the purpose of ‘collecting materials for the study of the Portuguese people,’ I considered I ought not to refuse the publication of these interesting discoveries, and I judged them worthy the attention and study of specialists, on account of the palæo-ethnographic interest and value of all these materials.”





TREASURE TROVE :

WITH REFERENCE TO THE CASE OF THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL
v. THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

By C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.-P.

(Read December 16th, 1903.)



THE interesting and much-vexed question of the wisdom of the present law relating to Treasure Trove, which has from time to time found expression more particularly among antiquaries, has recently attracted fresh attention from the proceedings taken by the Attorney-General on behalf of the Crown against the Trustees of the British Museum, to establish the title of the Crown to certain articles discovered in the county of Londonderry, in Ireland, as Treasure Trove.

So far as our Society is concerned, the subject of Treasure Trove has been dealt with on three separate occasions : (1) by Mr. George Vere Irvine, in a sketch of the history of the law and the then practice in carrying it out both in England and Scotland ; a statement of the evils which he suggested resulted from this ; and the remedies he proposed. (2) "Notes on Treasure Trove," by Robert Temple, Esq., Chief Justice of Honduras (both of which papers are published in vol. xv. of our *Journal* (1859) ; and (3) by Mr. George Wright, on the "Hardships of the Laws relating to Treasure Trove, with a View to their Modification," a notice of which appears in vol. xxxvii. of our *Journal*, page 84, where it is stated that the paper will be given in a subsequent part of the *Journal* ; but, after careful search, I can find no trace of its having been published, or of the discussion

which arose on its being read. Mr. George Wright also drew attention to what he called the barbarous law of Treasure Trove in commenting on Mr. Tom Burgess' paper on the "Ancient Encampments of the Malverns," at our Malvern Congress in 1881; to which Mr. Burgess, in reply, said that he had been a victim of this law: for the silver and gold ornaments found in a Saxon lady's grave were required by the Treasury authorities.¹

Hitherto, attention has only been drawn to this subject from time to time, when any discoveries have been made, either of special intrinsic value, or from their antiquarian interest; and when the opinions of those more immediately concerned have found expression, the Royal Prerogative has been asserted and the controversy forgotten; but the recent proceedings taken by the Attorney-General afford a favourable opportunity of reviewing the law relating to the Royal Prerogative, with the aid of what will in future be a leading case on this subject.

The circumstances under which the discovery was made are thus stated by Mr. Justice Farwell, sitting as a Judge of the Chancery Division of the High Court, on June 20th last[1903]:—

"In the month of February, 1896, two ploughmen were driving a furrow in a field belonging to a Mr. Gibson, near Limavady, and on the shores of Lough Foyle; the leader with a 6-in. plough and the second man with a 14-in. plough. The latter struck something hard at the bottom of the furrow, and he found certain gold articles all lying together in a space of about 9 ins. square. The articles consisted of (1) a hollow collar, with *repoussé* ornaments; (2) a model boat, with thwarts, and a number of oars, spars, etc.; (3) a bowl, with four small rings at the edges; (4) a solid gold torque; (5) one-half of a similar torque; (6) a necklace, consisting of three plaited chains with fastenings; and (7) a single chain. The two last were found inside the hollow collar. The oars were much bent, and were inside the bowl, which was flattened, and the boat was crumpled up. The ploughman took the articles to his master, and they were

¹ *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxxviii, p. 85.

sent to the factory of Messrs. Johnson, in Grafton Street, who restored them to the shape in which they were shown in court. They are articles of great interest and beauty, of Celtic origin, the dates suggested for their manufacture being from 300 B.C. to 600 or 700 A.D." [But the Judge thought] "they might fairly be attributed to the second or third century after Christ. Ultimately they were purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum, and are now claimed by the Crown as Treasure Trove by virtue of the Royal Prerogative."

The ground on which the articles were found is part of the territories granted originally to the Society of the Governors and Assistants of London of the New Plantation of Ulster, known as the Irish Society, by the charter of King James I, dated March 29th, 1613, on the settlement of Ulster after the Rebellion. The twelve chief City Companies of London (including the Fishmongers' Company) agreed to contribute to the funds required by the Irish Society for the purpose of carrying out the scheme of this charter, and it was agreed that portions of the towns and lands granted by the charter should be divided amongst the City Companies; and in 1618 the Irish Society, for valuable consideration, granted to the Fishmongers' Company a portion, including the land where the articles in question were found, with "the liberties and privileges belonging or appertaining or reputed as belonging thereto." In 1638, proceedings were taken for the purpose of cancelling this charter; and ultimately King Charles II granted a new charter to the Irish Society, dated April 10th, 1662, vesting in them the city, fort, and town of Derry, and all the lands, royalties and privileges, formerly granted to them, including the franchises, liberties, privileges and profits, and all other appurtenances, in as full terms as could be used, with the exception, *eo nomine*, of the words "Treasure Trove."

The Trustees of the British Museum, by their pleadings, relied on the charters of James I and Charles II, and contended that the grants thereby made included the right of Treasure Trove, and that such rights also passed by the grant to the Fishmongers' Company: that the defendants

purchased the ornaments openly and in good faith, on behalf of the British Museum, after they had been exhibited at a Meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of London, on January 14th, 1897, by Mr. Robert Day, F.S.A., who had acquired them by purchase. An account of this meeting appeared in the *Athenæum* newspaper of January 30th, 1897, and the purchase by the defendants was made some months afterwards. The defendants are bound by Statute to preserve for public use to all posterity the articles in their collection, with certain exceptions not affecting the said ornaments.

Mr. Arthur Evans, F.S.A., Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, read a paper at the meeting of the Society of Antiquaries before-mentioned,¹ on the articles exhibited by Mr. Day, which was embodied in a deposition which he made in support of the defendant's case, in which he arrived at the conclusion that the articles constituted a votive offering. He scouted the idea that the boat necessarily implied a Viking origin: in form and details it was purely Celtic, and the circumstances all pointed to the conclusion that it was a thank-offering vowed to some marine divinity, by an ancient Irish seaking who had escaped from the perils of the waves. "It might well have been dedicated to the Celtic Neptune, Nuada Necht, the British Nodens, whose temple, with illustration of his marine attributes, had been discovered at Lydney, and whose name, in its Welsh form "Lud," still survived as associated with the Port of London, in Ludgate Hill."

Thus it will be seen that two distinct issues were raised by the pleadings: (1) Were the articles found Treasure Trove? (2) Did they pass by the charters to the Fishmongers' Company, and through them to the British Museum?

Before referring to the arguments of counsel on either side, and to the operative part of the Judges decision, it will be well to state shortly the nature and origin of Treasure Trove as laid down by the authorities.

The chief of these are the definition given by Sir

¹ Published in vol. lv, p. 2, No. 17, *Archæologia*.

Edward Coke, in his *Third Institute and his Explanation*,¹ as follows:—

“When any gold or silver in coin, plate, or bullion hath been of ancient time hidden, wheresoever it be found, whereof no person can prove any property, it doth belong to the King or to some lord or other by the King’s grant or prescription.

“The reason wherefore it belongeth to the King is a rule of the Common Law: that such goods whereof no person can claim property belong to the King, ‘Quod non capit Christus capit Fiscus.’ It is anciently called Fyndaringar of finding the Treasure.

“If it be of any other metal it is no treasure: and if it be no treasure, it belongs not to the King, for it must be treasure trove.

“Whether it be of ancient time hidden in the ground or in the roof or walls, or other part of a castle, house, building, ruins or elsewhere so as the owner cannot be known.

“For it is a certain rule, ‘Quod thesaurus non competit regi nisi quando nemo scit qui abscondit² thesaurum’.”

[Of ancient time hidden]. “Est autem thesaurus — Vetus depositio pecunie, &c., ejus non extat modo memoria adeo ut jam dominum non habeat.”

[Belong to the King]. “Where of ancient time it belonged to the finder as by the ancient authorities it appeareth. And yet I find that before the Conquest ‘Thesauri de terra domini regis sunt nisi in Ecclesia vel Cemeterio inveniantur; et licet ibi inveniatur aurum regis est, et medietas argenti est medietas ecclesie ubi inventum fuerit, quæcunque ipsa fuerit vel dives vel pauper’.”

Sir William Blackstone, in his *Commentaries*,³ gives a similar definition as to the requisites of hiding and the absence of any known owner; and adds, by way of illustration: “Also if it be found in the sea or upon the earth, it doth not belong to the King but the finder if no owner appears. So that it appears that it is the hiding, and not the abandonment of it that gives the King a property.”

Mr. Chitty, on “Prerogative,” p. 152, after defining the rights attached to Treasure Trove in similar terms to

¹ Pp. 132, 133, Sixth Edition, 1680.

² “Abscondere” means simply “to hide,” or, as Dr. Smith in his *Dictionary* says: “To put away together; lay by; secrete.” There is no suggestion of a felonious hiding as is implied in the Anglicised form “abscond.”

³ Vol. i, Stewart’s Ed., pp. 307 and 308, and Stephen’s *Commentaries*, 4th Ed., vol. ii, B 4, Part i, p. 532.

the above, adds: "If the owner instead of hiding the treasure, casually lost it, or purposely parted with it, in such a manner that it is evident he intended to abandon the property altogether, and did not purpose to assume it on another occasion: as if he threw it on the ground, or other public place, or in the sea, the first finder is entitled to the property, as against every one but the owner, and the King's prerogative does not in this respect obtain."

The Attorney-General (Sir R. B. Finlay), in opening the case for the Crown, said that the fact that all the articles were found close together in a narrow space clearly showed that they had been placed there for concealment, and thus came within Coke's definition of Treasure Trove. Before dealing with the charters which had been pleaded, he dealt with two suggestions which had been put forward: one being that the sea formerly flowed over the place where the articles had been found, and that they might have come from a wreck. He did not understand that this would be seriously pressed.¹ The other suggestion was that the articles had been deposited as votive offerings to some heathen deity; and he claimed that, whether they were so deposited or not, they were none the less Treasure Trove. He then dealt with the plea that the charters and the grant to the Fishmongers' Company included the Crown's right to Treasure Trove. This he opposed on two grounds. That the Trustees of the British Museum could have no title under the Company, and that the right to Treasure Trove did not pass to the Company, the specific term "Treasure Trove" not being used, and that none of the other terms employed would include it. In answer to a question by the Judge, whether it was necessary to prove concealment, the Attorney-General replied that, if the articles were found altogether a short depth from the surface of the soil, and so placed as to indicate that they were put there by some one, the necessary inference was that they were Treasure Trove; and he called the ploughman who gave evidence as to the position in which the articles

¹ Nor was it.

were found; who, on cross-examination, said he found no trace of wood or cloth. Both the bowl and the boat were flattened. Shells were turned up by the plough in that field similar to the shells on the shore of Lough Foyle.

Mr. Warmington, K.C., in opening the case for the British Museum, referred to Blackstone's definition as set out in Stephen's *Commentaries*, and said their case was not a case of abandonment, but a case of a votive offering made to a deity. In comparatively recent times there had been an upheaval of land formerly covered with water in this and other localities; and it was a well-known custom of the ancients to place votive offerings in the water to propitiate the water deities. They contended that these articles were so placed in the water, and that the spot where they rested afterwards became dry land.¹

¹ The reference to shells in the ploughman's evidence appears in the first instance confirmatory of Mr. Warmington's contention; but in the Royal Society's publication of the *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 314 [1703 to 1712], there is a Paper by the Archbishop of Dublin (Archbishop King, Bishop of Derry, 25th January, 1690-91; translated to Dublin, 1703-4, died 8th May, 1729), "On the Manner of Manuring Land with Sea-shells, in the Counties of Londonderry and Donegal." He says: "About the seashore, the great manure is shells; towards the eastern part of the Bay of Londonderry, commonly called Lough Foyle, lie several eminences that hardly appear at low water. These consist of shells of sea fish of all sorts, more particularly of periwinkles, cockles, limpets, etc." . . .

"On digging a foot or two deep about the Bay of Londonderry, it yields shells, and whole banks are made up of them. I observed in a place near Newtown Lannavady, about two miles from the sea, a bed of shells, such as lie on the strand. The place was covered with a scurf of wet spouty earth, about a foot thick."

"It is certain that Ireland has formerly been better inhabited than it is at present. Mountains that now are covered with bogs have formerly been ploughed: for, on digging five or six feet deep, they discover a proper soil for vegetables, and find it ploughed into ridges and furrows. This has been observed in the counties of Londonderry and Donegal. A plough was found in a very deep bog in the latter, and a hedge, with wattles standing, under a bog that was five or six feet above it.

. . . "There are few places which do not--visibly when the bog is removed--show marks of the plough, which must prove that the country was well inhabited. It is likely that the Danes first, and then

This contention was supported by the evidence of Mr. J. L. Myers, student and tutor of Christ Church, Oxford, and lecturer in Classical Archaeology in the University, and by the deposition of Mr. Arthur Evans, before alluded to. "He could not imagine that anyone could have the idea that the articles formed part of the treasury of a monastery; and considered it improbable that they might have been stolen and hidden by a robber. He did not look on the boat or bowl as works of art." Mr. McCausland Stewart, an engineer, and Professor Edward Hull, F.R.S.—the latter of whom was formerly director of the Geological Survey of Ireland—gave evidence that the spot where the articles were found was part of what was known to geologists as a raised beach, which began to be formed about the fourth century A.D., and was now about $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. above ordinary high-water mark.

Mr. Wallace, an employé of Mr. Johnson, the Dublin jeweller, said that when Mr. Day brought the articles to him to be repaired, the collar was flattened. The boat was crumpled up like a bit of paper, and he did not know what it was until it was restored to its original shape. The bowl was in even a worse condition. There was reddish sand in all the articles, and no mutilation.

The Attorney-General called Dr. Munro, a Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Mr. George Coffee, Member of the Council of the Royal Irish Academy and Keeper of Antiquities in the National Museum in Dublin, in opposition to the theory that the articles were a votive offering. In answer to the Judge's desire for evidence of the existence of a water-deity in the north of Ireland to whom votive offerings was made, or whether the ancient Irish had any sea-god, Mr. L. Horton Smith, as *amicus curiæ*, referred to Brash's ogam-inscribed monuments of the Gaedhil, in the British Islands, as showing the existence of a water-deity amongst the pre-Christian

the English, destroyed the natives; and the old woods seem to be about three or four thousand years standing, which was near the time that Courcsey and the English subdued the north of Ireland; and, it is likely, made havoc of the people that remained after the Danes were driven out of Ireland."

inhabitants of ancient Ireland, viz., Mananan Mac Lir, the god of the sea.

Mr. Cochrane, a Member of the Council of the Royal Irish Academy, stated that gold articles had been found in Clare and near Drogheda in the middle of last century, but they were connected with the Christian era. It was known historically that a number of shrines existed near Lough Foyle, which contained gold and silver articles. These were plundered from time to time. There was a church founded by St. Columba in the parish where the find was made.

Mr. Kilroe, of the Irish Geological Survey; Mr. R. L. Praeger, who had made a special study of the raised beach on Lough Foyle; and Mr. Cole, Professor of Geology in the Dublin College of Science, all said that, in their opinion, the raised beach had been formed before the Christian era.

This closed the evidence, and the Judge reserved judgment, which he delivered on June 20th last [1903].

After stating the circumstances of the discovery, as before mentioned, and adopting Mr. Chitty's definition of Treasure Trove, his Lordship proceeded: "So that it is the hiding and not the abandonment of the property that entitles the king to it. It is clear from the very terms of the definition that no direct evidence can be given of the intention to hide, or the intention to abandon, by a person who is *ex hypothesi* unknown. The direct evidence must necessarily be confined to the discovery of articles in fact concealed, and the Court must presume the intention to hide or to abandon from the relevant surrounding circumstances, and the motives that usually influence persons acting under such circumstances, according to the ordinary dictates of human nature. In the present case the articles were obviously of considerable value, but of a miscellaneous nature, such as might well represent the store of a native chief, or the spoils gathered in the raid of some Norse pirate. The articles were all put close together, the chains being actually concealed within the hollow of the collar, in the mode which a person hiding them for safety, with a view of returning to reclaim them, would be likely to adopt. Their value renders it

improbable that they would be abandoned except under stress of imminent danger; and the care with which the chains were put inside the collar, and all the articles were collected together, point to the absence of any such imminent danger as would necessitate abandonment. The inference, therefore, is that they were intentionally concealed for the purpose of security. There is no evidence at all as to the date of concealment; but the state of Ulster, from the beginning of its history down to comparatively modern times, has been such as to render it highly probable that treasure would have been concealed on many occasions; and in this very district there is record of a great invasion of Norsemen, who overran the land comprising this spot about the year 850 A.D. The inference, therefore, appears irresistible that this was *Vetus depositio*, unless the defendants can displace it. Mr. Warrington agreed that it would be enough for him to show any other plausible theory. I do not agree with him. The Crown must first prove a *prima facie* case; but, when they have done so, the defendants must defeat that title by producing a better title. But, in my opinion, the defendants' theory is not even plausible. The whole of their evidence on these points is of the vaguest description, and I find as follows: (1) There is no evidence to show that the sea ever flowed over the spot in question, within any period during which the articles could have been in existence; it is not disputed that the raised beech on which the spot is situated is of later origin by upheaval than the surrounding land; but there is nothing to show that it was raised at any time since the Iron Age began; and, so far as I can see, it may have been at any time between 2000 or so B.C., and some time before the beginning of the Christian era. (2) There is nothing to show that votive offerings of the sort suggested were ever made in Ireland. There is no such consensus of expert opinion as would enable me to find that such offerings have ever been made in Europe since the Bronze Age. There is no case known of a votive offering anywhere of a ship coupled with other miscellaneous articles; and there is no case on record of any votive offering having ever been made in Ireland at any

time. (3) Notwithstanding the passage in Brash, it is by no means certain that there was any Irish sea-god at all; (4) or that there were any Irish sea-kings or chiefs who made offerings to a sea-god, if any such god there were.

The Judge then dwelt on the improbability of anyone making an offering to a pagan deity concealing two of his gifts in the hollow of a third; nor would the donor mutilate some only of the objects.

"Mutilation would either be essential or an insult, and one would therefore expect to find all or none mutilated. Again, by virtue of what process have all these articles of such different sizes, weights, and shapes been kept together during all these years under the whelming tide? What magic bag had the Irish sea-king which would withstand the action of the waves, until the ornaments confided to its care found a safe resting-place in the soil formed on the surface of the beach when the sea receded? It was perhaps natural that the defendants should grasp at theories which, in justice to them, I may say were not invented for the purpose of this defence; but it is really little short of extravagant to ask the Court to assume the existence of a votive offering of a sort hitherto unknown, in a sea not known to have existed for 2000—and possibly 4000—years, to a sea-god by a chieftain equally unknown; and to prefer this to the commonplace but natural inference that these articles were a hoard hidden for safety in a land disturbed by frequent raids, and forgotten by reason of the death or slavery of the depositor. It is perhaps hardly necessary to mention that my observations as to votive offerings are confined to votive offerings of the character suggested by the defendants, and have nothing to do with votive offerings in Christian churches, or with offerings to wells and fountains, of which many instances are collected in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. ii, p. 259, and onwards."

The Judge then dealt with the point that the right to Treasure Trove was granted by the Charter of Charles II to the Irish Society, and that the Crown had therefore no title. This he decided in the negative, on the ground that the charter did not contain the words "Treasure Trove," and that it could not pass under the general terms of royalties or franchises; and he gave a very clear and valuable explanation of these terms from a legal point of view, but not upon any archæological grounds.

The result of the judgment was a declaration that the

articles in question were Treasure Trove belonging to his Majesty, by virtue of the Prerogative Royal; and an order to deliver up the same was accordingly made.¹

The view taken by the learned Judge rendered it unnecessary for him to express any opinion on the further point taken by the Attorney-General, that votive offerings might be Treasure Trove. This point and others which were raised, of a strictly legal feature, are therefore still open to contention in the event of any case arising in which they may be involved; but from the confirmation given by this judgment to the old definitions of Treasure Trove, it seems hardly possible to contend that such a votive offering, prior to the Christian era, as is contemplated by the judgment of Mr. Justice Farwell, could be treated otherwise than as an abandonment by the owner; though subsequently to that period a votive offering to a Christian shrine being given to persons having the custody of the shrine might vest in them an ownership which, on the destruction of the shrine and the loss of any trace of the then owner, would on discovery in later times bring the find within the rules of Treasure Trove; and in the case of sepulchral interments it can scarcely be considered that the depositor of the treasure contemplated resumption of the deposit, involving as it would an act of sacrilege; and that he must therefore be treated as having abandoned his ownership, notwithstanding the action of the Treasury in the case of Mr. Tom. Burgess before mentioned.

On the 8th July last (1903), Mr. Balfour, First Lord of the Treasury, in reply to a question, informed the House of Commons that his Majesty had been graciously pleased to express his wish that the ornaments recovered should be presented as a free gift to the Treasury of the Irish Academy; and the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury had accordingly given instructions that effect should be given at once to his Majesty's wishes.

¹ I am indebted to the report of this case in *The Times Law Reports*, No. 27, vol. xix, pp. 537 to 560, for the facts above stated.





SAINT CHRISTOPHER

AND SOME

REPRESENTATIONS OF HIM IN ENGLISH CHURCHES.

BY MRS. COLLIER.



It was something of a surprise to me when my attention was attracted to this subject, to find that St. Christopher may claim the distinction of being more frequently represented in cathedrals, abbeys, and churches in this country than any other saint, excepting only St. Mary the Virgin. The gigantic hero of the familiar legend meets the eye on many a wall in parish and city church in every part of England: often, it must be admitted, in a dilapidated and partially destroyed condition, but unmistakable in character and identity. As far as I have been able to discover, there are as many as 183 representations of the subject known to have existed in various parts of the country, chiefly as wall paintings; and though some of these have perished, or been covered, the greater part remain in more or less fair preservation. It may be conjectured that even yet many churches, which are still encumbered with the plaster of Protestant zeal, have the concealed picture of this popular saint waiting to be restored to view. In recent years the value of wall paintings as evidences of the state of national work in art, and their influence on the thought and religious belief of the people, has made them especially interesting to the student of antiquarian taste. References to many discoveries of these survivals of pre-Reformation times are to be found in the journals and periodicals of historical and archaeological societies. Encouragement has thus

been given to research in this direction ; but it has been often foiled (strangely enough in these days of restoration and reproduction of mediæval art) ; by the not-unusual instances where mural paintings, after being uncovered for the edification of the student of past ages, have been demolished or concealed by coats of whitewash, to suit the prejudice of a patron or rector of ultra-evangelical views. It is regrettable that in other cases the indistinct remains of these paintings have by well-intentioned but ill-advised attempts at restoration been permanently injured, the original work lost behind the modern imitations ; so that between negligence and mistaken zeal, much has been irreparably injured if not altogether destroyed. I believe it is a fact that some mural decoration was attempted in almost every church during the Middle Ages ; in most cases after the Norman conquest, figures of saints, groups and scenes from sacred and legendary lore, were introduced : the representations being a varied epitome of the religious faith, the symbolical designs, and the superstitions of the nation and period. At the Reformation most of these were hidden from sight by the use of whitewash ; doubtless the simplest way of concealing what were then condemned as idolatrous objects, and in many cases scripture texts or moral maxims were substituted. It was only when the modern revival influenced the taste for restoration of Gothic art that numerous instances of these curious survivals were exposed to view, throwing much light, and adding to our information as to the beliefs and mode of worship of our ancestors. The present inquiry is, however, limited to only one of the many subjects delineated : which, however, is not inferior in interest, and offers as much matter for discussion as any that remain to exercise the judgment and awake the conjectures of present-day students. We will commence by examining the history, authentic and apocryphal, of St. Christopher, and proceed to inquire into the reasons for the extraordinary popularity to which, after an interval of centuries wherein he was treated with comparative neglect, he attained at a long subsequent period after his death.

The Christopher known to history might be dismissed

in a short paragraph, as one of the many whose life and martyrdom had little effect on his own times and faith. According to the account given in *Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, etc.*, by the Rev. Alban Butler, wherein he quotes Baronius, the Mosarabic Breviary, and Pinius the Bollandist, Christopher was a native of Palestine or Syria, a man gigantic in stature and of formidable strength. He suffered martyrdom under Decius in Lycia. He seems to have taken the name of Christopher (literally, Bearer of Christ) to express his ardent love for the Saviour, whereby he always bore Him in his heart as his great and only good, his inestimable treasure, and object of all his affections and faith. The same authority states that: "his relicks were removed to Toledo, and then to France, where they were enshrined at St. Denys, and for many centuries shown to the worshippers in that celebrated abbey." Another account states that he was baptised by St. Babylas, Bishop of Antioch, and received the crown of martyrdom in the third century. St. Gregory the Great (sixth century) mentions a monastery in Sicily which bore the name of St. Christopher. The above bare and dry statements are about all that history records of the Saint. Nor does it appear that he made much impression on his contemporaries or succeeding generations, until we come to the monkish legends of mediæval ages, when various versions are to be found in manuscript collections and early printed volumes still extant.

In the *Golden Legend*, called by Walton an inexhaustible repository of religious fable, which was written in Latin in the thirteenth century, translated into French in the next century, and from the French into English, and was printed by Caxton, the Legend of St. Christopher appears with very circumstantial details, and fully garnished with supernatural and apocryphal attributes. According to this ancient work, the name of the Saint was originally Reprobis, and it was not till after his conversion and numerous adventures that he was baptised, and took the name of Christopher. The Legend lays stress on his enormous height, and terrible and fearful appearance and countenance. It must be admitted

that the existing representations of the Saint are calculated to bear out the statement. The story is told at great length in the *Golden Legend*. It will suffice here to give the substance of one of the most picturesque of the traditions which in the Middle Ages took hold of the popular imagination ; and, repeated from generation to generation, became a fruitful source of inspiration to the artists and sculptors of Christendom.

The author of the *Golden Legend* states that Reprobis was of the lineage of the Canaanites. It came into his mind to serve the greatest Prince in the world, whom he sought, and after far journeying heard of one who was of great renown, and so took service in his court ; but finding this king was in terror of the name of the Devil, and made the sign of the Cross when he was mentioned, Reprobis decided that there must be one greater than this "kyнге," and thence departed to seek him. He next came upon a great and cruel knight, who acknowledged himself to be the Devil, and accordingly the future Saint took service under him ; but was greatly disappointed when at a roadside Cross his new master trembled and fled, having to get back to the road by a roundabout and awkward track. Thereupon, as the Devil confessed to his fear of the Cross and of Christ, Reprobis departed from him to seek the Master ; and now in a desert he meets a hermit, who dwelt there, and who instructed him in the faith and baptised him ; though it is not clear whether he then took the name of Christopher, which would be symbolical of his future adventure, the result of a penance by which he undertook to convey pilgrims across a dangerous river, in which many had been lost. It was, according to the Legend, many days that he abode on the borders of the stream, and bore many pilgrims in safety, having a great pole in his hand instead of a staff, by which he sustained himself in the water, and being very strong in his members. At last, one night when he had gone to rest, he heard the weak voice of a child calling to him, and begging to be taken across. Christopher ran out, and though at first he could see no one, at the third call he found the child, lifted him on his shoulder and entered the river, which thereupon rose and

swelled more and more. The child became heavy as lead, the water increased and grew stormy, and Christopher in agony feared to be drowned, but escaped with great pain ; and setting the child on the ground, he said : " Child, thou hast put me in great peril : if I had had the whole world upon me, it might be no greater burden ; " and the Child answered : " Christopher, marvel nothing, for thou hast not only borne all the world upon thee, but thou hast



Wall Painting in the Church of Wilsford and Lake, Wilts.

borne Him that made and created the world on thy shoulders : I am Christ, the King whom thou servest in this world." The Legend goes on to say that Christopher planted his staff in the earth, and prayed that to convert the people it might bear flowers and fruit, which indeed took place : the staff became a palm tree, with fruit and leaves, and was the means of converting 8,000 men in the province of Lycia ! The king of that country, however, commanded that the Saint should be seized, and shot by poisoned arrows. One of these rebounded,

and wounded his persecutor, Dagmar the Prefect, entering his eye; whereupon Christopher, who was miraculously uninjured, predicted that after his death by decapitation, his blood would heal this enemy's wound. He then submitted to martyrdom, and the



From a Cut in an old copy of the *Golden Legend*, early Black Letter.

Prefect was healed in the manner he had desired. The king was converted, and commanded that if anyone ever blamed God or St. Christopher, he should be slain with the sword. His miracles were recognised by the Church, and the Saint's relics are found in several places, especially in Spain. The above is condensed from the version given

in the *Golden Legend*; and the drawing I have taken from the illustration, a woodcut in the old copy preserved in the Cathedral Library of Salisbury, and which is printed in black letter, but is imperfect, without date or name of printer.¹

The theory has been suggested that the ancient pictures were primarily symbolical, and represented the Cross personified; or, as some authorities have with more reason maintained, they were intended to show the disciple of Christ, who will bear Him over the billows of resistance, relying on the staff of his direction, and so passing over the waters of Jordan. Or, it has again been explained that the Christian is thus represented as one who will submit his shoulders to Christ; and shall, by the concurrence of his increase into the strength of a giant, and being supported by the staff of His holy spirit, shall not be overwhelmed by the waves of the world, but wade through all resistance (Pierius, Browne, Jeremy Collier, and others).

It may be observed that the hypothesis which suggests that the Legend of St. Christopher was probably due to his name being, in process of time, connected or confounded with the earlier symbolism of a personified Cross, receives some colour owing to the word "Cristofri" having been commonly used to denote the cross worn on the breast by the knight, squire, or even yeoman, before the decorations of the Order of Knighthood received that form of recognition as a sign of caste or chivalry.

Chaucer, speaking of the Yeoman in attendance on the

¹ In the *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, by the Rev. E. Cobham Brewer, LL.D., at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, the following short version of the subject is given under the heading "Christopher":—"The Giant carried a child over a brook, and said: 'Chylde, thou hast put me in great perill. I might bear no greater burden;' to which the Child answered: 'Marvel nothing, for thou hast borne all the worlde upon thee, and its sins likewise.'" This is an allegory: *i.e.*, Jesus Christ, the child, is the offspring of Adam; the river is death; the Saint is called a giant because the Redeemer was equal to so great a burden. Christopher means "Cross-bearer." In this connection, it should be mentioned that some later writers have come to the conclusion that this legend, so widely spread in Christendom, was originally founded on an allegory, and that St. Christopher, the Lycian martyr, was only identified with it in the lapse of time, on account of his name.

Squire in the *Canterbury Tales*, says: "A Cristofre on his brest of silver shene" (or "shone," in modern language). The name given is suggestive, being an allusion to the peculiar office of the sacred Cross as the Christ-bearer. It would be interesting to discover where and at what period the earliest legends and pictures or statues were recognised as representing the Saint and Martyr, rather than as typical emblems of the Cross or Christian in the earlier symbolic sense.¹

It does not appear, however, that the Saint was known to fame, or of any consideration in the Church, until the original emblematic subjects, expressive of the Cross and the Christian pilgrim, had become through the lapse of time and the accretion of legend with history, connected with the name of Christopher, and, as a consequence, with his supposed miraculous experiences.

However the change came about, it is very certain that in this country the legend and miraculous power of the Saint were not recognised by the Church until about the thirteenth century. As soon, however, as mural paintings became a feature in the internal decoration of churches, the story of St. Christopher takes its place very prominently everywhere, and remains are to be found of a very early period of this subject, though it was not until the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries that he reached the height of his popularity, surpassing St. George, the Patron Saint of the land; so that it is conjectured that every church in England possessed a figure, either in painting or sculpture, of this Saint. It has struck me as curious, nevertheless, that there do not appear to be any

¹ On the Continent, some very ancient statues are known to have been recognised as the Saint. They were usually of colossal stature, and stood at the entrance of churches. One of them was formerly on the right hand of the principal gate of Notre Dame at Paris, as stated by Browne, and the author of the *French Historical Dictionary*. Wright, also, author of *Observations made in Travelling through France, Italy, etc.*, a work published in 1730, notes "a monstrous stone figure of St. Christopher at the Church of Notre Dame de Paris rather amazes than pleases: 'tis about ten yards in height." Pennant notes a still larger statue at Auxerre, nearly 70 ft. high. In all probability these figures were of much earlier date than any of the representations remaining in our English churches.

churches actually dedicated to St. Christopher.¹ This shows, perhaps, that as a personality he had not in early Christian times the renown or consideration rendered to him which his name, and the miraculous powers later accredited to him, induced the Church and the faithful to yield to him. Very obscure or merely local Saints, with names strange and little known to later times, are commemorated in various parts of the country in the dedication of churches. It seems evident, therefore, that the cult of St. Christopher was not much known in the land until after churches were built and dedicated to their patron saints, amongst whom he was as yet unrecognised; nor does it appear that St. Christopher was included in the Calendar of Saints in England. The earliest notice of the Saint we have been able to find is an order for a painting of St. Christopher, to be executed in the Chapel of St. Peter within the Tower (of London), which is entered in the Court Rolls of the reign of Henry III. Walpole quotes the following record concerning a painting of St. Christopher of the year 1248: "The King to the Sheriff of Southampton, Greeting. We charge you concerning the business of your Company that you cause to be painted in the Queen's Chapel at Winchester, over the Eastern Arch, the Image of the blessed St. Christopher as he is in Churches depicted bearing Christ in his arms; and the likeness of the blessed King Edward giving his ring to the pilgrims, as his likeness is similarly depicted.

"Witnessed under the King's Seal at Windsor, 7th May."

If, at this early date, St. Christopher was but entering into his heritage of fame in England, it certainly was not long before he became at least one of the most appreciated and most universally popular of the saints and benefactors of the country. Let us examine into the causes of his popularity, and the probable origin of the powers attributed to him. Very early in the Latin Church, the Cross itself had been looked upon as a protection from the powers of evil. The Devil

¹ I have since heard of two churches, now destroyed, one in the City of London.

and his angels were driven away by the presentation of the sign of the triumph of Christianity. Hence the many stories which record the discomfiture of Satan, and the escape of his legitimate prey, at the mere elevation or exposure of the sacred symbol. The idea is carried out in the primary signification of the crosses which adorned the summits of all sacred—and many secular—buildings. Many edifices, indeed, were made to bristle with crosses: not one alone as a symbol of faith, but many at each point of vantage, to fortify the place and the worshippers against the assaults and powers of the Evil One. It was supposed that the fiend, conscious of the victory obtained over him on the Cross, was bound to fly from that Cross—instrument of the salvation of man and of his own subjection. The storms, earthquakes, plagues, and other calamities were considered as the work of the Devil, and were to be combated and conquered by the agency of the symbolical Cross. It was not improbable that the Bearer of Christ should, in process of time, become the personified representative of this symbol. Thus, he might be accredited with the properties with which the Cross was invested. He became the protector against evil, and the dangers to which mankind are exposed; and from this point it would not be far to arrive at the superstitious belief that anyone who looked on St. Christopher's picture or image would be secure from a violent death, during at least that day. Accordingly, verses expressing that belief are to be found frequently on a scroll above or below his picture; and for the same reason his portraits or statues were placed prominently at, or opposite, the entrance of a church, or sometimes on a pillar facing the principal doorway, so that a passer-by might see, and benefit accordingly.

In an old edition of the *Praise of Folly*, a translation of the Satire by Erasmus called *Moriae Encomium*, the following passage occurs: "Among the regiment of fools are such as make a trade of telling or inquiring after incredible stories of miracles and prodigies: and these absurdities do not only bring an empty pleasure and cheap divertisement, but they are a good trade and

procure a comfortable income to such priests and friars as by this craft get their gain. To such again are nearly related others who attribute strange virtues to the shrines and images of martyrs and saints; and so would make their credulous proselytes believe that, if they pay their devotions to St. Christopher in the morning, they shall be guarded and secured the day following from all danger and misfortune." This translation by Bishop Kent is illustrated by woodcuts from the designs of Hans Holbein; and in illustration of the above quotation, there is a representation of a pilgrim or traveller, with his hands clasped, addressing a prayer to St. Christopher, as shown in a picture suspended on the wall: the Saint as usual bearing the Infant Christ on his shoulder. Hence it is very plain that St. Christopher owed his popularity to the miraculous safeguard which he was supposed to give to the faithful who applied to him for his protection. But the Saint was also credited with a special power to preserve his votaries from epidemics, earthquakes, lightning, fires, storms, sudden death, disasters, and revolutions.

It is not surprising that, with such a catalogue of misfortunes driven away by the intervention of the Saint, his powers only required to be generally known to be universally appreciated. Consequently, he presently became the first favourite among the pictured hierarchy, and by the fifteenth century his representations were the most conspicuous in all the paintings of that period. In proof of his supremacy it may be mentioned, that many of the more ancient wall-paintings representing other subjects have been actually concealed and covered by pictures of St. Christopher of a later date. The glorification of the Saint continued unabated till the wave of the Reformation engulfed him. In this country he suffered an immediate if not final eclipse; the earlier reformers, however, were not so thorough in their business as the Puritans and Iconoclasts of the succeeding century, when the mason was set to work with whitewash to make a clean sweep of the remaining St. Christophers and other such curious and venerated worthies, and obliterated many an interesting emblem and record of previous ages: thus destroying equally the rude attempts and the religious

efforts of the artists and sculptors of the English Church. Having done all the mischief they possibly could, these enthusiasts recorded their meritorious deeds in church registers and parish accounts, and sometimes on a scroll, with commemorative inscription, and a beautiful flourish, as in one case in these words : "Thank God for putting it into our heads and hearts to beautify this church." This entry is signed by the churchwardens of the parish. The puritanism and intolerance of the times were followed by the indifference and formalism of the eighteenth century, when religious questions remained in a sort of abeyance. The revival of interest in church and creed in the nineteenth century brought in its train the restoration and renovation of the old neglected buildings, and soon their decoration was taken in hand. The plaster was removed, and in many an ancient place of worship the great giant Saint was once more revealed, to witness to his former popularity, though not to claim the power and worship of a more credulous age. In this country it is not difficult to follow the course of events, and discern the causes which led to the downfall of St. Christopher in the esteem of the people ; but I do not understand how it is that, to all appearance, he has quite lost his fame and following on the Continent also.

It is time to describe the general features of the representations to be found even now in so many places. The design is always the same, though varied and modified according to the taste and capacity of the artist. The Saint, a man of gigantic stature, grasping a staff on which he leans, has the infant Christ on his shoulder, who holds an orb with one hand, the other extended in the act of benediction. Usually, the Saint struggles with the current or waves of the stream, his garments reaching to his knees, and the water though not mounting so high, is meant to represent considerable depth, and has often fish swimming around, and sometimes a mermaid included amongst them. On each side is a high bank, and always on one is a chapel or hermitage, with a hermit holding a lantern to light the Saint across the ford. Christopher sometimes is represented as bending under the weight of his burden ; and a scroll, with the lines recording the

conversation of the Saint with the Child, is often introduced. I can here only describe a few of the examples of the paintings, which are variations, and may be taken as specimens of many others still extant, as well as those known to have existed, but now destroyed. The first that attracted my attention is one of which I have a pen-and-ink sketch, taken from a drawing by Edward Duke, son of the well-known Wiltshire antiquary, who gives a most interesting account of his discovery of this wall-picture in the parish church of Wilsford and Lake, near Amesbury, in that county. The Rev. E. Duke was rector of the parish early in the nineteenth century. He had examined the church of Darrington in the neighbourhood, in search of a picture of which some record remains in Aubrey's notes (1669); but, finding that painting destroyed, he determined to examine his own church, and with such success that a very perfect representation was exposed to view: in this case two paintings existed, one over the other, of the same subject, the under one being in the best condition and the more characteristic, and probably several centuries earlier in date of execution. Mr. Duke assigns the date of it to the twelfth century, and finds in its antiquity a proof of his theory that the so-called pictures of St. Christopher were fitted to early symbolic paintings of the Cross. As he supposes, the legend did not take its present shape until a later period than the paintings, as originally designed. However, later critics do not admit that any of the wall-paintings in the early Norman churches represented figures and groups in the manner in which this legend is delineated. On the whole, it cannot be considered probable that this painting can be of an earlier date than the thirteenth century. In this example, which is about 9 ft. in height by 11 ft. in breadth, the general features of the legend are all emphasised. The Saint is a most muscular giant, with a somewhat forbidding countenance. The Child holds in his left hand the globe surmounted with a cross, while he extends his right hand in the act of blessing, with the first three fingers extended. The hermit, with torch and rosary, watches him from the entrance of a chapel or church, which is a curious speci-

men of early architecture; it has a round-headed door, and windows, with lattice in the latter, and an upper or clerestory surmounted by a lantern hexagonal in shape. The roof appears to be of tiles. In this representation the three fish appear (though one is partially destroyed); and also beside the giant a mermaid is disporting herself, in apparently supreme indifference to the scene enacted before her. Tradition has said that it was an arm of the sea which was crossed by the Saint, and Mr. Duke finds in this picture that the idea is supported by the fish being "Dorées," denizens of the sea, and the mermaid a maid of the sea, being present in the waters. It seems that Pennant, in his *British Zoology*, remarks that: "Superstition hath made the Dorée rival to the honor of the haddock, out of whose mouth St. Peter took the tribute-money, leaving proofs of the identity of the fish in the marks of his finger and thumb in spots on its side. The Dorée asserts an origin of its spots of a similar nature; for St. Christopher, wading through an arm of the sea, caught a fish of this kind *en passant*, and, as an eternal mark of the fact, left the impressions on its sides to be handed down to all posterity. Wherefore the French named this fish 'Adorée,' now corrupted into the form of Dory."

As regards colouring, the picture is chiefly in the red or brickdust tint which is common to the earlier paintings discovered, which are usually outlined only, or shaded in part, to denote the varieties in form or texture. Perspective is at a discount, but the drawing and proportions of the principal figure, and the arrangement of the drapery, show the talent and execution of an artist.

Amongst the most curious examples of the subject is the one at Shorwell Church, Isle of Wight, which has been ascribed to the fourteenth century. In this case, not only does the Saint appear with his usual attributes and surroundings, but his conversion to Christianity and his martyrdom are also depicted. The treatment is more elaborate than usual, but it seems that similar representations have been found at some other churches, but not preserved. The picture discovered at Bardswell is supposed to date about 1500, but has been white-

washed over. Amongst recorded instances of this subject, which are now effaced, a remarkable example was visible until early in the nineteenth century in the chapel at the east end of Canterbury Cathedral, called "Becket's Crown." This was a large painting, and according to local evidence it was one of a series of subjects executed by the order and at the expense of Cardinal Pole, the last Roman Catholic prelate interred at that cathedral. Another representation, which I believe is still in existence, is that at Sedgeford Church, in Norfolk. In this instance, the inscription appears, and a more remarkable peculiarity is that the Infant is portrayed with three heads. This extraordinary illustration has been supposed to denote the doctrine of the Holy Trinity: certainly a strange if not unique example of such a design. The Norfolk churches were especially rich in fine examples of the Christopher legend; but unfortunately many of these have been allowed to fall into decay, and are no longer visible, though in fair condition when discovered.¹

The last representation I shall here record is the one at St. John's Church, Winchester, which is doubtless already well known to the members of the British Archæological Association from their visits in the Congress of 1893. However, I do not see any notice of the wall-paintings in their Journal of the proceedings on that occasion. It may be that, like others which have been discovered, it is not now in good condition. This I hope may not be the reason for silence, as it was a very fine example of the subject. The principal figure was 14 ft. in height, and with form and features more pleasing and artistic in drawing than most representations. The details are the usual ones, but treated with more than ordinary talent and sense of proportion and distance. This painting was discovered in 1853, and occupies the central part of the south aisle, reaching nearly from the ground to the roof.

¹ Many other examples in good condition have been brought to my notice. Amongst others, the one at Chesham Parish Church, Bucks, which was discovered and preserved by Sir Gilbert Scott when restoring the church, and is a very good specimen of large size on the south wall.

The south aisle of St. John's was, apparently, appropriated to a confraternity of St. Christopher, as the north is known to have belonged to the Guild of Our Blessed Lady, this church having been, until the Reformation, largely supported by confraternities. The popular Saint was represented in several so-called brotherhoods, or guilds. In many bequests of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries his name is recorded: for instance, the Earl of Northumberland in his will, 11th July, 1511, after the usual form, asks for the prayers of blessed St. Christopher, "my advowry (or advocate)", and bequeaths "Unto the brotherhood of Cristoffer of York forty pence and to the brotherhoods of St. Cristoffer holden within the Parish Church of St. Mighill in Cornhill twelve Pence."

Of an earlier date, at Thame, in Oxfordshire, the brass inlaid altar-tomb to Rich. Quatermaine and his wife, about 1460, an inscription records one of these foundations "as a Fraternity in the worship of St. Cristofere in perpetuity," whose devout prayers they request. The lines are worth quoting, and with them I will conclude as follows: "They founded in the Church of Thame a Chantrie, 6 pore men and a fraternity in the worshipp of Seynt Cristofere to be relieved in perpetuyte. They of their alms for their soules a pater noster and Ave devoutly will say, of holy faddurs is granted the pardon of dayes forty alway—which Richard and Sibil oute of the world passed in the yere of owre Lord 1460."





WINFIELD MANOR.

By J. B. MITCHELL-WITHERS, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.

(*Read at the Sheffield Congress, August 12th, 1903.*)



HIS Manor House is said to have been built by Ralph, Lord Cromwell, in the reign of Henry VI, to whom he was Treasurer of the Exchequer, an office of high honour. He appears to have been a nobleman of great attainments, and, as such, we may attribute to his influence the artistic feeling which runs through the design of his house. He obtained the Manor of Winfield about A.D. 1441, through a lawsuit, in which a compromise was effected, and then appears to have built the main portion of the buildings which form the Manor House on the site of an older house. After his death on Jan. 4th, A.D. 1455, it passed to John, second Earl of Shrewsbury, to whom Cromwell had sold the reversion of the Manor, and in whose accounts are payments on behalf of this made.

Lord Cromwell appears to have been a great builder. He built the Castle of Tattershall, in Lincolnshire, and also a church there. He also probably rebuilt the church at South Winfield, or rather, rebuilt it with the exception of the chancel, which had been constructed just previous to his time; and one would, therefore, expect that here, where apparently he expected to dwell, in—for those times—comparative security, that it would be probable that he would desire a house to be designed which would contain the latest ideas in the refinement of the times. And while this building has been much mutilated by owners, who at a later date used much of the stonework for building what has been described as a square box

adjoining, sufficient remains to show that those employed by him carried out the ideas of this great man in no mean spirit. From an artistic point of view, the remains of Winfield have always had a great fascination for me ; and if my time had not been otherwise occupied I should have desired to have put before you drawings to show, from an architect's point of view, some probable restoration of this building ; but knowing that many here present may have had more ample facilities to work this matter out than have fallen to my lot, I must be content to-day with giving you a general description, and trust that the plan which I have prepared, together with information I have collected from other sources, will be of some interest, and perhaps lead to further information being acquired as to the uses of the various portions of the building.

The inferior buildings apparently surrounded an outer court or bailey, from which, through a gateway, consisting of a large and a small entrance, the inner courtyard was approached, round which the more important buildings were situated.

The massive turrets, which flanked this approach (that at the south-east being no longer in existence), appear to have been designed with the idea of affording the inhabitants an ample defence from any attack on this side ; and no doubt they would feel secure from an attack from the north side, owing to the nature of the ground, the moat, and the facilities of defence which the battlements and terrace there would offer ; and the inner court and its buildings, therefore, convey a sense of peaceful security which is not found in buildings of the previous century.

The main entrance from the inner courtyard to the buildings of his lordship was formed by a large porch, which is the most perfect part of the front of the building, surrounded by rich Perpendicular battlements, with shields of arms belonging to him. The entrance is surmounted by an arch, which is richly moulded, and decorated with square-leaved flowers. The ceiling of this porch was formed as a groined vault, and stone seats were on each side ; beyond it was the banqueting-hall, there being a screen as usual across the end of it, over which would be the music gallery.

The hall itself must have been a fine example of its time, and had on the north side five windows, and on the south side, which faces the inner courtyard, three windows and a fine bay window, which fortunately remains in a sufficient state of preservation to attract the admiration of all interested in our art treasures. There are also two gable windows. At the further end of the hall, judging from the stonework, there must have been a daïs, as was usual at this time, when the lord and his household dined above the salt and their retainers below it. The rings from which the tapestry was hung still remain. Under the hall is a vaulted apartment, which, with its big wheel-bosses and finely-carved figure ornaments, is well worthy of notice. It is called "the crypt." The exact purpose for which it was used has been the subject of much contention. The designers do not appear to have been at much trouble to light it well, as it has only comparatively small windows facing the terrace; but by its being approached by three staircases from the building, and a fourth from the inner courtyard, I can only assume that it had some most important use.

Mr. J. D. Leader, in his book, *Mary Queen of Scots in Captivity*, made the suggestion that possibly it may have been the chapel, for traces of which archæologists have sought in vain.

In a book on Winfield Manor, Mr. S. O. Addy says that "the undercroft" at Winfield was the "Spence." Here the wine, spices, fruit dishes, etc., were kept by an officer of the household called the Spence, who was in monastic houses called the Cellarer. He may be right, but this to me seems to be a different case, and the access to this crypt on all sides—it being readily approached from the hall, the terrace, the portal, the inner courtyard, the battlements, in fact, from the buildings generally—seems to indicate that it was the armoury. These, we know, were often elaborately ornamented, and no doubt would be one of the sights shown to distinguished visitors. On the outside of it, in the Elizabethan period, was erected what Turner and Parker, in their description of fifteenth-century domestic architecture, describe as a sort of cloister; and this, whilst protecting

it from attack, must have lessened the little light which it had previously obtained.

Off the north-east turret stairs are various doorways, and the corbels in the outer side of the hall wall, and the large doors from the crypt and hall, indicate that there were buildings here. There are also traces of other buildings further out; and while I cannot say definitely what they were, I suggest that there was a withdrawing-room here, and that the buildings extended from it to the south-east tower, where the farm barn is, thus completing the inner courtyard. There is a trace of a foundation wall running out from the remains furthest north-east, and it seems as if the moat may have ended here, which would still further increase the probability of there being buildings here to protect this, the weakest side of the Manor House.

Returning to the entrance porch, we see opposite a fine doorway, which led to what is known as "the portal," and at the far side of it there is a very fine archway. Off the portico is an entrance to what are known as the State apartments, and another entrance from which access is obtained to a circular stair, which leads to the level of the crypt, and also ascends to the upper portions of the building.

The buildings known as the State apartments had many uses allotted to them. I do not know that I can give you a totally satisfactory answer as to what those were, as the windows looking over the kitchen court are very puzzling. In the basement, there appears to have been a cellar, for use in connection with the buttery, and another which was used as a larder. The remains of the foundation wall indicate the division between the two.

On the ground floor, approached out of the hall by the smaller doorway of the three, and facing into the inner courtyard, was the pantry. The large door in the centre formed the approach to the buttery and the kitchens; and doubtless the passage was screened off on each side: as, at the further end over the archway, against the stairs approaching the buttery-hatch, there is the equivalent of a modern fanlight.

The third doorway led first to some steps which descended to the crypt; and here there is a break in the wall, extending to the next floor, and opposite are three windows, which appear to have belonged to this storey. The lower one of the three is more plainly worked on the outside than the other two. The wall above having disappeared does not make it any easier to decide what was the object of this arrangement. It may have been a staircase, to approach the next floor.

On the first floor, the portion of the building facing the inner courtyard appears to have been one storey of considerable height; and judging from the richness of the window, and the small rose window over it, it appears probable that this was used as the domestic chapel of the Manor House. The portion facing the terrace, and entered from over the portal, would be one of the private apartments, and over it would be another apartment, which the angle entrance shows was connected with the room to the west of it, which was again approached from one of the turrets. Whether these rooms had any opening into the chapel, as is sometimes the case, there is no evidence now to show.

Proceeding down the steps towards the kitchens, we pass the buttery, from which access was obtained to the cellars, and on the opposite side to which is a large fireplace. There is a wall against the steps, and traces of mortar, as though used for pointing a roof on the outer wall of the kitchen above it. Nevertheless, I am inclined to think that this little court, and generally the portion where the fireplace is, was without a roof; and that the approach from the kitchens, whilst having a roof, was more or less open like a cloister arcade, so as to give light and air to the buttery-hatches, etc. The kitchen beyond, with its various ovens and the accessories, are on a scale worthy of the rest of the building. The kitchen appears to have been one storey in height, with ample light and ventilation in the upper part. At one end of it is the scullery, with a door leading through the outer wall, and another leading into a small courtyard at the opposite end. The buttery is approached from the kitchen, and there is access from it both to the inner

courtyard and the cellars under the State apartments. From the kitchen, up a flight of steps, the inner courtyard is also reached, and adjoining are the buildings in which Mary Queen of Scots is said to have spent the portion of her captivity passed at Winfield. It is recorded that those who remembered this portion of the building said that it was the finest portion. There is little now save the outer wall, with its fireplaces and windows, and traces of the inner wall. This shows two bays, which appear to have been the cause of much speculation: as Edmund Henry Ferrey, who wrote a monologue on Winfield Manor, in 1870, together with careful measurements of the building, and to whose plan I am indebted for the diagram on which I have pointed out the various arrangements, on excavating found two square jambs. I do not think this need have been the cause of much difficulty, as it would be a very natural arrangement for a doorway to have been formed opposite to the stairs leading to the kitchen for the service of this suite of apartments. Mary Queen of Scots, as we know, was kept in fairly strict confinement; and it is recorded that when Queen Elizabeth asked the Earl of Shrewsbury's son about her, he replied he had not seen her for five years; and as she appears to have had a considerable staff of attendants, including cooks, it would be only natural for ready access to be afforded from the servants' portion to the rooms which she occupied.

Beyond the building, in the south-west angle of the inner court, is the entrance to the tower, together with another similar tower previously referred to as protecting the inner gateway, which is said to have been in the south-east angle. Between this and the gatehouse has been a two-storey building, of which the chimneys and walls remain standing. In this, adjoining the gatehouse, is the porter's room. No doubt the buildings between the south-east tower and the gatehouse would be of a somewhat similar nature. Out of these a modern farmhouse had been formed, and various square-headed windows have been broken out.

On the west side of the inner courtyard it is said that there were no buildings, and the remains beyond the

great hall do not seem to have attracted much attention. I do not agree with this opinion for the reasons I have already mentioned, viz., the remains visible and the need of defence here.

Passing to the outer quadrangle, we notice the fine chimneys in the buildings on the north side.

On the east side are the remains of what is known as the Guards' Chamber. This name was probably given it during the siege at the time of the Commonwealth. At the south-west corner is an entrance gateway, with a large and a small arch, and porter's lodge and guard room at the sides of it. Beyond this, at the outer south-east corner, is an ancient barn with a fine timber roof, the posts being carried down to the ground-level. On the remainder of the south side are traces of buildings of a similar width; on the west side there are traces of a building. These were most likely used as stables and servants' quarters; and no doubt on the west side there would be a postern to give access to the earthworks outside, traces of which remain. The field in which they are retains the name of "the bulwarks."

The water supply to the Manor House appears to have been originally through pipes, as we learn that they were cut during the siege at the time of the Commonwealth, when a well was sunk in the inner courtyard.





ECCLESFIELD CHURCH.

By R. E. LEADER, Esq., President.

(Read at the Sheffield Congress, August 13th, 1903.)



CANNOT omit to preface a short sketch of the history of this building with an expression of regret that the Association has been deprived, by the death of Dr. Gatty at the beginning of the present year, of the pleasure of being welcomed by one whose affection for this church

was equalled only by his knowledge of its every detail. The present Perpendicular structure occupies the site of an older church or churches. Dr. Gatty was almost pathetically anxious to establish the fact of a Saxon edifice having stood here: but there is not the slightest trace of this. There is no mention of a church at Ecclesfield in *Domesday Book*, nor have any remains of a Norman church been found, although there is substantial ground for the belief that one of the De Lovetots (*temp.* Henry I), cotemporaneously with the foundation of the church at Sheffield and the monastery at Worksop, built a church here. Dr. Gatty speaks of some traces of Early English work about the piers of the tower; but more definite is the Early English shaft or column attached to the west end of the nave, and fragmentary mouldings of Early English windows have been found from time to time during alterations. The De Lovetot of the period bestowed lands and the church on the Abbey of St. Wandrille, Fontenelle, in the diocese of Rouen, Normandy; and towards the end of the twelfth century a priory or cell was erected here, and a small colony of brethren placed in charge. In course of time dissensions

arose ; and the monks' attention to the spiritual needs of the place proving unsatisfactory, in 1310 the Archbishop of York ordained that there should be a perpetual Vicar of Ecclesfield, presentable by the abbot and convent of St. Wandrille. On the abbey was also imposed the duty of providing an endowment and vicarage, of maintaining the fabric, and of finding two assistant chaplains. A monk of St. Wandrille was, accordingly, appointed in 1311, and the succession of vicars has been regular to the present time. When, in 1386, Henry II suppressed the alien priories, Ecclesfield was given to the Monastery of St. Anne, Coventry. By it the still-existing church was built, though not all at the same period. The four piers of the tower arch are Decorated ; the rest of the church Perpendicular, and probably ranging from 1450 to 1500, the chancel being the latest. The windows of this were, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, filled with stained glass windows by the neighbouring families—the Fitzwilliams, Mountenays, Shirecliffes, and others ; while the east window contained the arms of Furnival ; a picture of St. Wandrille, with bishop's staff ; figures of the Prior of St. Anne's, with twelve monks ; and an inscription : " Pray for Thomas Richard, prior, and his convent of the Carthusian house of St. Anne, near Coventry, who caused this chancel and window to be made." There is some difficulty in identifying this prior, but it is conjectured that his date is 1497 to 1504. We get a confirmatory clue to the furnishing of the chancel in the will of Thomas Parker, of Whitley (20th August, 1510), who bequeathed 40s. " to the making of the roode lofte and stalls in the said church of Ecclesfeld." One of the witnesses to this will was Sir Thomas Clerc, Vicar from 1478 to 1517. The rood-loft was taken down in 1570, but when Roger Dodsworth visited the church in 1628, the screen and stalls remained, and he was much struck with the gorgeous display of painted glass in the windows. He wrote : " This church is called (and that deservedly) by the vulger the Mynster of the Moores, being the fairest church for stone, wood, glasse, and neat keeping that ever I came in of country church."

After that the church suffered from the dilapidations

and neglect of a decadent period. Mr. J. T. Jeffcock describes the manner in which, up to 1825, "quaint galleries, with two or three pews in them, and each a separate staircase, were studded about the church, and peered from under arches or behind pillars, each painted or colour-washed to a different tint, as suited the taste of the owner or the exigencies of the sexton. On the ground, in one place, stood a pew lined with green baize; in another an oak stall patched with deal. This was square and tall, that low and oblong; this had no floor, that no bench-end; one was surrounded with crimson curtains, the next had not even a solid seat in it." A costly but unenlightened attempt was made in 1825 to bring about a more satisfactory state of things in the nave. But the chancel was left in its old neglect; and the inadequacy of the "restoration" may be judged by the description given by Dr. Gatty, in *A Life at One Living*, of the condition of the church when he was appointed Vicar in 1839. Throughout his long tenure Dr. Gatty was untiring in his determination to make the structure worthy of its name; and, generously helped by the surrounding gentry, the restorations as we now see them were completed some ten years ago.

The remains of the ancient priory stand to the north of the church. After the suppression of the alien priory, the few foreign ecclesiastics who had hitherto resided here probably withdrew to their own country. It is believed that no monks were stationed at Ecclesfield by its patrons of Coventry, but that from 1386 the estate was farmed out to some person who converted the monastic buildings into a secular dwelling-house. This, known as Ecclesfield Hall, degenerated into a mere farmhouse when rebuilt, but in part only, in 1736. The eastern portion of the old priory, with certain interpolated seventeenth-century chimneypieces and windows, was left to go to ruinous decay. The same fate was reserved for the chapel or oratory, 18 ft. 8 ins. by 13 ft. 6 ins., with chamber beneath, and a dormitory adjoining it with refectory below. But a few years ago the property was sold by the Duke of Norfolk to the late Mr. Bernard Wake, who restored these apartments, and, adding them

to the hall, converted the whole into a curate's house. Both piscina and aumbrye were found in the walls of the chapel, and the original east window remains with mullions and tracery in good condition. The walls of the refectory and chapel were found to be $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick, the stones having been cemented, not with lime mortar, but with loamy clay. During the restoration there were found remains of an older wall at the west end of the chapel, which may indicate the first structure put up by the St. Wandrille monks.

The tomb of the Rev. Joseph Hunter, the historian of Hallamshire, which stands in the southern part of the churchyard, should also be noticed.





Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 81.)

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11TH, 1903.

TO-DAY the members and friends had an interesting trip to places of note in the vicinity of Worksop. With a number of Sheffield ladies and gentlemen who joined them for the day, a party of about eighty persons assembled, and after proceeding to the Dukeries town by rail, "four-in-hands" were chartered, and the company were driven to Blyth, an old-world little village lying on the border-line of Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire. It is a pleasant road which runs northward from Worksop to Bawtry, and with the sun shining brilliantly, the journey was most enjoyable. Early on the road one had a peep at Carlton, red-tiled and picturesque, set against a background of dark green, formed by the woods of Dangold. In the hedgerows honeysuckle twined, and the wheat-fields, where the ears of corn were already turning golden brown, had additional colour lent to them by reason of the flaming poppies everywhere swaying to the breeze. Blyth is not a big village, nor is it a place of importance, but in company with half a dozen other places within the radius of a few miles, it dates back to the time of the Domesday Survey. One may read that "in Blide (Blyth) there was one oxgang of land and the fourth part of one oxgang to be taxed. Land to one plough. Four villanes and four hordars have their one plough and one acre of meadow. In the same place, one carucate of land to be taxed of soke of the King's manor in Mansfield." Blyth was agricultural when the Conqueror came, and it is agricultural to-day. It possesses one or two sleepy inns, a very fine old church, a hall, and a chapel, which has a painfully new appearance when contrasted with the surrounding buildings. So quiet, so peaceful, is everything, there that one reads with feelings akin to surprise that John Norden derives the origin of the name of the village from the mirth and good-fellowship of the inhabitants therein.

It was to the church that the archaeologists directed their steps, and under the guidance of Dr. John Stokes, who read the following notes on Blyth, considerable time was spent in viewing the edifice.

NOTES ON BLYTH.

Blyth Priory was founded by Roger de Busli, or Builli, one of the wealthiest landowners of the Norman era, and Muriel his wife, in 1088 A.D. It was a Benedictine priory, subject to the Monastery of the Holy Trinity of the Mount at Rouen, to which it paid forty



Blyth Church : North-West Angle of Nave.

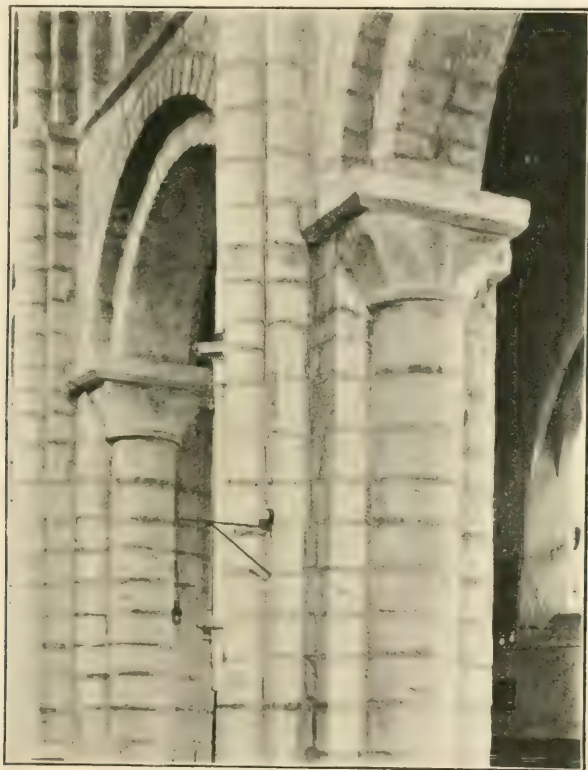
shillings per annum. It was not strictly an alien priory, having only this amount to pay, yet from time to time its revenues were confiscated, when the King of England for the time being was at war with France.

The original church had a nave of seven bays, and north and south aisles with transept and choir, the latter having an apsidal end. The total length was 158 ft., and width of the nave about 45 ft.

It is one of the earliest specimens of Norman architecture in the

country, and its style shows great traces of French influence. The dedication was to St. Martin and St. Mary.

In the early part of the thirteenth century a new south door was inserted, and it is suggested that when the south aisle was widened at the end of that century, this doorway was rebuilt together with the outer doorway of the porch. The south aisle was enlarged with a



Blyth Church: Detail of Nave Arcade.

width corresponding to the original transept, to form the parish church; and this alteration was rendered necessary by various disputes between the vicar of the parish and the prior of the convent, as the church was both parochial and conventual.

About the end of the fourteenth century the tower at the west end was erected, and in so doing the old west front and one of the bays of the nave was removed. Canon Raine puts the erection of this tower in the fifteenth century, from the record of certain benefactions having

been left : 1476, Thomas Chamberlain left 6*s.* 8*d.* "*fabricæ ecclesiæ*;" 1481, Robert Wilson left the same amount for the same purpose, and 3*s.* 4*d.* for the west window, "*fabricæ unicis fenestræ in parte occidentali ecclesiæ*," probably the five-light window in the west end of south aisle. 1509 Richard Adamson left 3*s.* 4*d.* for a bell : "*Campanæ in eadem ecclesiæ, iij*s.* iij*d.**" The tower of Tullhill Church, which has a similar cresting, was in course of erection in 1429.

The conventual buildings were situated on the north side of the church, probably in this position that the monks might be nearer the river, and perhaps to secure more seclusion from the outer world. These buildings were pulled down when Blyth Hall was built, in 1684, by Edward Mellish, and only a crypt with plain barrel vault remains. The hall appears, from the Mellish accounts, August 2nd, 1689, to have cost altogether £6,083 4*s.* 11½*d.* : rather a large sum. Of the original church there remain six bays of the nave, the north aisle, the triforium of which has had windows inserted probably in the sixteenth century (after the dissolution of monasteries), the west arch of the crossing, and the south-west part of the south transept.

The pillars are of typical Norman character, with heads carved on the east and west sides of each capital ; and on the wall above the vaulting of the nave (which was inserted in the thirteenth century) are traces of the old decoration of dark red lines in the form of parallelograms ; and there are some traces of decoration on the vaulting of the nave in the second bay from the east (this would form the west bay of the conventual church).

The rood-screens of both conventual and parish churches are in one line, and the lower portions are well preserved ; the upper parts have been largely renewed, but well done, after the old style. On the panels of each are painted figures representing various saints (? St. Barbara, St. Stephen, St. Euphemia, St. Edmund, St. Ursula). Those on the conventual rood-screen are older in form and ruder in execution than those on the parochial one, which latter show manifest evidences of Byzantine influence.

In the present chancel are the mutilated remains of a stone effigy, sometimes said to represent the founder of the priory.

Under the tower three stone grave-covers are set up. On the north side of the nave is the tomb of Edward Mellish, who died 1703. A tablet records that the deceased gentleman, "having lived alone 20 years a merchant in Portugal, at his return home, by God's blessing, with a plentiful estate, built a mansion house, a fair and stately edifice, situated at the north side of this church, where stood the seat of his father."

The site of the apsidal east end of the conventual church is now part of the grounds of Blyth Hall, and the mound containing the foundations may be plainly seen to extend 60 ft. from the present east end of the church.

The priory was dissolved in February, 1535-36, when the annual income was returned at £126 8s. 2½d. The great tithes and the advowson are now the property of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Hall and Manor belong to Major Willey.

Many of those present ascended the tower, which, although only some 70 ft. high, commands an extensive and pleasing view over the country round about.

The party then returned to Worksop, where the Priory Church was visited under the guidance of Mr. Charles Lynam; the vicar, the Rev. H. T. Slodden, having first given the following brief *résumé* of the history and devolution of the Manor of Worksop:—

“The manor of Worksop in the days of the Conqueror was held by one Roger de Buisli, a favourite of the Norman William. It is said that this Roger held no fewer than 174 manors in Notts., and his chief residence was at Tickhill, in Yorkshire, though he sometimes resided at Worksop. From De Buisli the Worksop estates passed to another Norman nobleman, William de Lovetot, probably by his marriage with the daughter of De Buisli. This William founded this monastery for canons. He left two sons, Richard and Nigel. From the Lovetots, after three generations, Worksop passed to another young Norman, Gerard de Furnival, who became Lord of Hallamshire and Worksop by his marriage with Maud, the heiress of the Lovetots. This Gerard died at Jerusalem in 1219; his son Thomas was likewise a Crusader, and was slain in Palestine. Thomas’s brother brought his remains to Worksop, and they were buried here. Through a line of six Furnivals in direct succession—one being the famous Thomas, Lord Furnival, who served with Edward III at Cressy—the estates of the Furnivals, by failure of male issue, passed to the Neviles, viz., to one Sir Thomas Nevil, the Lord Treasurer of England, by his marriage with Joan de Furnival. The alabaster figure of the knight, with the figure of the lion at his feet (at the west end of the church) is supposed to represent Sir Thomas Nevil; the other two effigies represent Joan, his wife, and the Thomas de Furnival who fought at Cressy. Sir Thomas Nevil and his wife had one daughter, Maude, who was married to John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, and thus the estates passed to the Talbots. There were five Earls of Shrewsbury in direct succession who enjoyed this estate, and to Francis, the fifth Earl, Henry VIII, on the

dissolution of the monastery, granted its Worksope possessions, to hold to him and his heirs by the royal service of finding the king a right-hand glove at his coronation, and by supporting the king's arm so long as the sceptre should be held.

"After eight generations of Talbots, and the division of their estates among co-heiresses, this portion, about 1617, came by marriage to the Howards, Earls of Arundel, since Dukes of Norfolk, and remained with them until 1840, when the entail was broken and Worksope Manor estate was sold to Henry, fourth Duke of Newcastle. The greater portion of the manor estate the present Duke has sold, but before the sale the advowson of the living was handed over to the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley, Oxford."

Mr. Lynam then gave a short account of the church and the ruins. The date of the foundation of the church is a little uncertain, White and other writers having fixed 1103 as being the most probable; Mr. Lynam gave it as his opinion that the date was later than this. The founder was William de Lovetot, who, it is believed, also founded the parish church of Sheffield. It was of the Order of St. Augustine, and dedicated to St. Cuthbert. Richard de Lovetot, his son continued his father's grants, and added valuable gifts of his own. Subsequently, Gerard de Furnival married the only daughter of the second William de Lovetot, and he and his heirs held possession of the de Lovetot estates for about a hundred and eighty years. At the death of Thomas Nevil, Lord Furnival, the Worksope estates passed by marriage to John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury. There were five Earls of Shrewsbury in direct succession holding the estates, but in 1617 they came into the possession of the Howards of Arundel, since Dukes of Norfolk, and remained with them until 1840, when they were sold to the Duke of Newcastle. The present parish church only represents a part of the original priory church, but of the remaining portion the two eastern bays are of an entirely different period to the others, and point to the edifice having early been extended. There is reason to believe, moreover, that opportunity was taken of retaining one part of the area for the use of the canons and the other for parochial purposes. The priory, with so many other noble buildings, suffered during the Reformation, for, in 1539, its surrender having been made by Thomas Stokkes, the then prior, the work of dissolution was ruthlessly carried out. Not until 1845 was the restoration of the church really commenced. The general architecture of the priory and the ruins is so familiar to archaeologists that the keenest interest was perhaps directed to small details. Mr. Lynam had much of interest to narrate, and many theories of his own to extend. There

is a recess in the groined undercrofts by the cloister which is often said to be a niche whence the poor received their doles; but Mr. Lynam declared this to be a fallacy, remarking that the opening had been a cupboard, and as proof pointed to small pieces of ironwork which, he said, were the remains of the hinges upon which the door had swung, and that the back of the recess was not mere filling-in, but of the date of the original building. After seeing the church, the priory gatehouse was inspected. This is now in a dilapidated state, and is unused. The architecture would point to its having been erected in the early part of the fourteenth century, in the time of Thomas de Furnival. The visitors were shown the old guest-house, and a shrine to the Blessed Virgin Mary: exceptional because of the richness of its carving.

Luncheon was served at the Lion Hotel, Worksop; and subsequently conveyances were again brought into requisition, and the party proceeded to the chapel of Steetley, where the rector of Whitwell, the Rev. Canon Mason, acted as guide. Steetley Chapel, which is just within the borders of Derbyshire, in one of the most interesting sacred buildings in this part of the country. For many years previous to 1880 it was without roof, and creeper-covered; inside were grass and straw; fowls, and it is even said pigs, had free run of the area. So beautiful was the architecture and carving, however, that it was determined to restore the buildings; and help being forthcoming, it was carefully roofed, and made fit for divine worship. It presented a pleasing contrast to its condition when visited by the Association on the occasion of the Congress held in Sheffield in 1873. It is possible this building fell into disuse in the period following the Civil War. The diary of Abraham de la Pryme, under the date February 12th, 1698, contains the following:—"In a green meadow close to Stickley, near or in Shire Oaks, in or near Worksop, stands a straightly well-built chapel, all arched roofed, excellently enambled and gilt; the lead that covered the same is all stolen away, so that the weather begins to pierce through its fine roof to its utter decaying." The following notes on Steetley Chapel were contributed by Canon Mason:—

STEETLEY CHAPEL.

The neighbouring village of Thorpe-Salvin is said by some lovers of romance to be the site of the celebrated castle of *Front-de-Bœuf*. If that be so, I maintain that Steetley Chapel is the ruined shrine where the Black Knight enjoyed the hospitality of "the holy Clerk of Copmanhurst." Certainly, when "the gentle and joyous passage of arms of *Ashby-de-la-Zouch*" took place, this chapel had been standing

nigh a hundred years. For it was probably built by Gley le Breton, when Stephen was seated on the royal throne of Westminster, and Roger de Clinton, thirty-third successor of St. Chad, on the episcopal throne of Coventry. It was the hand of a Clinton that first blessed this altar and these walls; and now, when seven centuries have rolled away, it is under the noble patronage of a Clinton that this altar and these



Steetley Chapel: Interior.

walls have been restored. Steetley Chapel, then, is older than Welbeck Abbey. Gley le Breton built it, perhaps, for his own convenience, as a private chapel to stand near his house; and, no doubt, Parson Hugh or Parson Walter used sometimes to walk down here from Whitwell early in the morning, to say mass for the benefit of Gley, or Gley's son John, with his four sons and their sister, Matilda, and the Gurths and Wambas of his day. These four young men, if they married, left no children, and Matilda becoming heiress, brought the property by

marriage to the Vavasours, who held it till the year 1360. Thenceforward, and all through the Reformation period, it was held by the Frechevilles. From them it passed to the Wentworths, to the Howards, and to the Pelham Clintons. Although for some two hundred years this building remained as a "capella" in Whitwell parish, yet in the fourteenth century, while Roger Northburgh and



Steetley Chapel : South-West Porch.

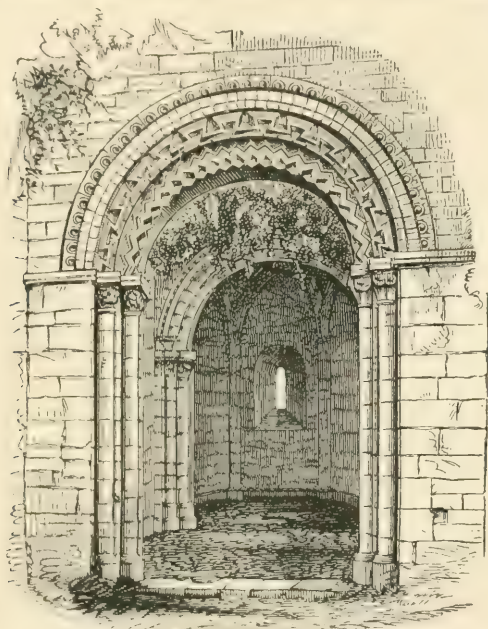
Robert Stretton were Bishops of Lichfield, nine separate institutions are known to have been made, and the priest is called "Rector of Steetley Church." This brief independence of forty years lapsed as mysteriously as it arose, and Steetley Chapel serves now once more the purpose for which Gley le Breton built it.

The chapel is 56 ft. long. It is divided into three parts—a nave, a chancel, and an apse (a parallelogram, a square, and a semi-circle). The nave is 15 ft. 9 in. broad, and the chancel measures 13 ft. 9 in. across.

Rev. Dr. J. C. Cox (whose name needs no comment) has pronounced Steetley Chapel to be "the most perfect and elaborate specimen of Norman architecture to be found anywhere in Europe." The chief features of interest are the porch, the chancel, and the apse. Observe the porch. It is composed of a triple arch resting on three pillars. The inmost member of the arch is plain, the second and third are ornamented with the beak-head and with the zigzag design. On the pillars the sculptor has lavished his art. The inmost one is simply moulded; the next is very rich with deeply-cut interlacing foliage; the third is ornamented with picturesque medallions, and on the capital is a syren or a mermaid and two fish. It is not extravagantly fanciful to suppose that these three pillars represent the works of Creation: three steps in the progress of life. The inmost is inanimate; the second displays the wealth of vegetable growth; the third the activity of animal life—the sea-monster and the fish; the wild beast, the lamb of the flock, the man; and the flying eagle—that is, things "in heaven above, in the earth beneath, and in the water under the earth." This idea is visible on both sides of the porch. There is, no doubt, a further meaning in the medallions. Thus, on the left side is plainly seen the Good Shepherd delivering the lamb out of the paw of the bear; on the right the figure of the pelican in her piety. Two new pillars have been added by Mr. Pearson on the old basement discovered. The carved stones lying on the grass may have originally belonged to the porch. They were found blocking up the lower of the two west windows. Outside the porch, right across the entrance, was found yonder priest's tombstone, and beneath the stone a skull. On the stone is carved an altar with three legs, and on the altar a chalice and paten, and a hand extended in blessing. At the head and foot is a sort of cross in a circle. There are two other stones: one plain, the other with a cross rudely scratched on it. Perhaps that unearthed skull beneath the carved stone was part of the skeleton of Lawrence le Leche, who was instituted to Steetley the year before the great plague of 1349, during which seventy-seven priests in Derbyshire died and twenty-two resigned. It is not difficult to imagine him, like Mr. Mompesson, at Eyam, in 1666, refusing to quit his post, comforting the sick and dying, or restoring them to health by that medical skill which had earned for him the title of "le Leche." Then, after seven years' service he died, and, in the humility of his self-devotion, chose, like St. Swithun at Winchester, to be buried before the porch, so that the people whom he had so faithfully served during his life might tread upon his bones, as they passed within to pray. Dying, he left no name, no epitaph upon his tomb, only a hand stretched out eternally

to bless. It was a happy omen to find, when we began to restore, a holy hand that blessed us from the grave. To these ancient graves are now added new ones; a few little children; and two old men, who made their first and last Communion here before they died.

The chancel arch forms a kind of frame, through which the second arch and the lovely apse are seen. It gives an effect of solemn depth and rich beauty. The arch is triple. The inmost design is the zigzag, the next the battlement, and the third is "an escalloped border over reticulated cones." The two pillars on the north side are richly



Steetley Chapel : Chancel Arch and Apse before Restoration.

carved, one with a double-bodied lion, the other with a St. George and the Dragon. The winged dragon, his long sweeping tail curled round the next capital and terminating in foliage, tramples on a prostrate lady. The warrior, in a complete suit of armour, strides to the rescue. His left hand thrusts a kite-shaped shield against the monster's mouth, and his right hand, grasping a long broadsword, is stretched out behind him to deal a death-blow. The chancel is paved with stone, as it was anciently. The aumbrey in the north wall contains a specimen of the stone tiles with which the chapel was once roofed. An old copper key, a piece of wrought iron, and a silver penny of the reign of Richard II, are the only things found here. In

Lysons' *Magna Britannia* (vol. v, pp. cexxii-iii) are shown two doors opposite each other in the chancel, evidently cut for the convenience of the pigs or sheep that once lived inside. The decorated window in the south side is the only feature later than the Norman period. The apse has a stone vaulted roof, supported by four ribs resting on engaged pillars. In the centre, where the ribs meet, immediately over the altar, is a medallion containing the "Lamb as it had been slain." The capitals of the pillars are elaborately carved. On the left is represented the tree of knowledge, loaded with fruit. Round it curls the serpent, and on either side stand Adam and Eve: an emblem of temptation and defeat. On the right are seen two doves; a symbol of peace after resisted temptation. The two together suggest and teach the text: "Be ye as wise as serpents and harmless as doves." Some remains of the colour can still be seen on the capital of the south pillar of the arch.

It would be a thousand pities to touch the carving with modern paint. It is painted with the inimitable art and colour of the great master, Time. But the chapel needs colour and enrichment; and, if the spaces between the ribs were tastefully decorated, the stone carving would appear to greater advantage. One word to suggest a scheme. Behind the altar a reredos, representing the Crucifixion; in the central window, the Ascension; in the central space of the roof, Christ in Majesty, surrounded by the four living Creatures, the Angels, and the Saints after whom the chapel is named. Between the arch and the ribs of the roof is a semi-circle, which surrounds and frames the vaulted roof. This must be the "rainbow round about the throne in sight like unto an emerald," and it must be composed of created things. In the summit the ranks of the angels; then the sun, moon, and stars; the clouds, lightnings, and storms; then the birds; then the beasts, the trees, the flowers; and then the water and the fish.

It only remains for me to call your attention to the grotesque heads that surround the chapel immediately beneath the roofs, and also to the very beautiful stringcourse of carved foliage that girdles the apse immediately below the three exquisite little narrow windows.

The chapel has not been re-consecrated. It was "reconciled" by the present Lord Bishop of Lichfield on November 2nd, 1880.

The last visit of the afternoon was to Barlborough Hall, four miles further on the road. After a pleasant drive into the old village, the conveyances entered the grounds, and turned into the magnificent avenue of elm trees which leads up to the front of the mansion. The

day had been spent in the inspection of relics of the past, but at no previous moment had the spirit of old-world romance crept over one as it did in approaching this stately Elizabethan home. Seen from the avenue, the impression quickly striking the visitor is, that he or she has been suddenly transported back several centuries. The hall is in a wonderful state of preservation, and there has been little done in the way of exterior restoration or alteration. The interior has been very slightly modernized; the rooms are full of old furniture, carvings, tapestries, and quaint firegrates, with armour and war relics on the staircase. The Hall is now occupied by Miss de Rodes, a descendant of the original builder; and to her courtesy the party was indebted for permission to view this beautiful house. The hall and its history were described by Mr. J. R. Wigfull, whose remarks are given below.

BARLBOROUGH HALL.

This interesting specimen of Elizabethan architecture was erected in 1583-4 by Francis Rodes, a Justice of the Common Pleas. The house is not large, but seen at the bottom of a long avenue of approach, the effect is very beautiful. The house is an example of the Italian influence, and extends vertically instead of spreading over the ground, as was the usual English manner. The plan is square, with the rooms grouped round a small central court, now roofed in and converted into a staircase. The kitchen and offices are on the ground floor, and principal rooms are on the floor above. The entrance doorway is on the south front, and is approached by a long flight of steps leading to the porch. This is flanked by classic columns, with an entablature above them; on a panel on the porch is the date 1583. The classic detail is confined to the porch and the tops of the bay windows; the string-courses and windows show the Gothic tradition. The roof is flat, and has a battlemented parapet. There are no gables, but the bay windows are carried up above the parapet, and there is a lantern of stone, from which access to the roof is obtained. Some of the original iron vanes remain on this lantern; they bear the initials J. R., those of John Rodes, the son of Francis.

The porch leads into the hall, probably, as Mr. Gotch supposes, into the passage at the end known as the "screens;" all traces of a division have gone, but its probable position can readily be seen by a reference to a plan of the house. At the dais end of the hall is a bay window, and a door leading to the great chamber. This is a fine apartment, with an ornamental plaster ceiling of good design; it also contains a beautiful mantelpiece, the upper part of which sets forth in brief the history of the builder of the house. We learn that it was erected in

1584, when he was fifty-eight years of age; that he was a Justice of the Common Pleas, and was twice married; and the names and arms of his wives are given—Elizabeth Sandford and Maria Charlton. On either side of these heraldic achievements are caryatide figures, one being represented with the scales and sword of Justice, no doubt in allusion to the owner's avocation.

At the close of the seventeenth century the house was renovated and repanelled. The date, 1697, is to be found on the mantel in the hall; the work done at this time is not of especial interest. The library contains a series of autographs and letters of Henry VIII; Elizabeth, with the date 1586; Bess of Hardwick, Devonshire, 1671; and others.

The gardens present a fine example of the old formal method, with simple cut yew-trees and straight walks close to the house. Further away they are less conventional, but form a beautiful setting to the house, which is seen reflected in the waters of the large fish-pond, mingled with the leaves and flowers of the lilies: the whole being typical of the repose and quiet of an English country home.

It had been arranged that the drive should be resumed to Kiveton Park Station in time to catch the 5.25 train to Sheffield, but it was impossible without hurrying over the programme to do this; and the party eventually returned to Worksop, and from there took a later train back to the city.

In the evening there was to have been a meeting at the Town Hall, when a paper would have been read by the president, Mr. R. E. Leader. However, owing to the lateness of the return of the party, and the slight indisposition of both the president and the honorary treasurer, Dr. W. de Gray Birch, the meeting was postponed to another evening.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12TH.

This morning about eighty members and friends made an early start, as the day's programme included Beauchief Abbey, Chesterfield, and Winfield Manor. Of Beauchief Abbey nothing remains but the massive western tower of the church, which has had an insignificant little seventeenth-century church tacked on to it—a curious anomaly. Dr. Stokes, Hon. Local Treasurer, gave the following description of this interesting monastic foundation:—

NOTES ON BEAUCHIEF ABBEY.

Beauchief Abbey was founded by Robert FitzRanulph, 21st Dec., 1183, as an expiation for his share in the murder of Thomas à-Becket

(29th December, 1170). Although not one of the four chief murderers, as stated by Sir William Dugdale, there is the evidence of an eye-witness—FitzStephen—that he was present. It is also known that at a later period FitzRanulph became a canon of this house, and in the obituary he is described as “canon and founder.”

The Abbey was founded in honour of St. Thomas the Martyr, and belonged to the Premonstratensian branch (Norbertines) of the Canons Regular of the Augustinian order, generally known from their dress as White Canons, and was probably in the first instance colonized from Welbeck. It was dissolved February 4th, 1535-6, having then an annual income of £126 3s. 4d. Little now remains of the buildings, as these were used as a quarry by the people of the district; and it is generally supposed that the neighbouring hall, erected in the seventeenth century, was built with stone obtained from this source.

The bells were removed to Darfield Church. There is a local tradition that Great Tom of Lincoln Cathedral once belonged to Beauchief, but evidence in support of this is very doubtful.

In an Inventory dated August 2nd, 28th year of Henry VIII, mention is made of the hall, buttery, kitchen, bakehouse, the “Abbot’s chambre, Rogr Eyre’s chambre, Greenleyff chambre, chapell chambre, Gatehous chambre, and Sekman chambre,” and also reference is made to the Grange.

With the exception of the tower and a portion of the original nave, all traces of these buildings have disappeared. The tower is of the fourteenth century, but has lost about one-third of its original height, the belfry stage, shown on Buck’s view of 1727 having now disappeared. The western doorway is of an earlier date, and is of the Transitional period. Above this is a large window, now blocked up, but containing evidence of the flowing tracery with which it was once filled.

The details of the buttresses on this tower are similar to those on the chancel of Dronfield Church (a living held by the canons of Beauchief), which is clearly of about the middle of the fourteenth century.

On either side of the tower, doorways have been erected in recent years. These have been removed from their original positions and rebuilt; one is of the late twelfth century, round-arched, the other is of the fourteenth century. At Osberton, the seat of the Foljambes, is preserved the old altar-piece of the abbey: it is of alabaster, and depicts the murder of Thomas à-Becket.

The present building contains old square pews of the seventeenth century, and various coats-of-arms of the Pegge family; it is now used

for service on Sunday afternoons, is in the Liberty of Beauchief, and is extra-parochial.

Train was then taken for Chesterfield, where the church, with its quaint twisted spire, was visited. This is too well known to require detailed notice. It was described by Mr. R. T. Gratton, an enthusiastic local antiquary, who pointed out that the tower, spire, transepts and nave, and south-west porch, which are in the Decorated style, were probably built about 1350, when that style was in its prime. The spire is not built of stone—which would have been too heavy for the tower to support—but of wood covered with lead, the lightest materials of which a spire could be built. It speaks its age, from its being a necessary part of “Decorated” architecture, and from its octagonal form, the octagon being much used at that period for fonts, spires, etc., as symbolic of the new creation. The oldest part of the present “restored” building is to be found in the south chapel of the chancel. This contains the celebrated Foljambe monuments. There is a remarkable fourteenth-century tomb in the south wall of the nave, almost hidden by pews, with an early form of crocket and finial canopy, which contains the effigy of a priest placed the wrong way about—*i.e.*, with his feet to the east instead of to the west—so Mr. Gratton said; but the effigy was evidently not intended originally for its present position.

Lunch was partaken of at the Hotel Portland, where the landlord provided the first grouse of the season, killed early in the morning, some twelve miles away, on the moors, and brought by bicycle for the delectation of the visitors: an attention which was much appreciated. Train was then taken for Winfield, or Wingfield (as the railway has made it), where the famous manor, which stands south of Yorkshire, just across the Derbyshire border, and is now in a state of complete ruin, was visited. It was built in 1441 by Ralph, Lord Cromwell, Treasurer of the Exchequer, and sold by him to John Talbot, second Earl of Shrewsbury; it was a magnificent dwelling, and a splendid example of the transition from military to domestic architecture. It was the country seat of a great nobleman, but it was built in times when means of defence were still necessary. It was, therefore, protected by a moat, strong gates, towers and earthworks, and provision was made for a garrison. Its designers, however, were artists, and their work, though strong in the military sense, was also of rare beauty. Nothing now remains except the bare walls and some winding staircases; but windows, fireplaces, drains, and other things, help the imagination to fill in what is missing. The house is built in

the best style of Perpendicular, and the tracery of some of the windows, including the fine bay window in the banqueting-hall, is particularly good. Beneath this hall there is a great vaulted crypt, with massively-ribbed groined arches, and decorative carving on the bosses at the intersections and on the caps of the piers, about whose use there is some uncertainty. Some would make it a chapel; others a mere store-room; others the armoury of the establishment; others the retainers' hall; but the most plausible theory, and the one that was approved by the majority of the archaeologists present, seems to be that it was a barrack-room for the men-at-arms; and its four exits, leading off in every direction, appear to have been provided that the garrison might take their posts without any delay on a sudden alarm.

When Queen Mary was at Winfield, her establishment numbered more than 300 persons. Her own retinue is said to have consisted of "five gentlemen, fourteen servitours, three cooks, four boyes, three gentlemen's men, two wives, the wenches and children." She had four good coach-horses, and her gentlemen six; and the queen and her suite drank about ten tuns of wine a year. Relays of men ceaselessly watched the queen's apartments, and the precincts of the manor were closely guarded. In all 210 officers and soldiers were employed on this duty. There must have been exciting times at Winfield when Queen Mary was there, but still more exciting times were to follow; and it was amid the clash of arms in the tumultuous days of the Civil Wars that Winfield Manor, after having served the purposes of both sides, came to destruction. When the war broke out, it was in the hands of the Earl of Pembroke, who had married a daughter of the seventh Earl of Shrewsbury. Pembroke, siding with the Parliament, garrisoned the place with Roundheads, but the Earl of Newcastle captured it after a four days' siege. Cavaliers then became the garrison, and withstood a much longer siege, lasting some months. Their artillery was their strength, but at length the besiegers brought "four great pieces" against them; a big hole was made in the walls, the garrison surrendered, and the great days of Winfield were ended. By a decree of June 23rd, 1646, in which the Parliament announced their determination to destroy every place which might serve as a "nest for malignants," it was dismantled and reduced to ruin.

The manor and its history were described by Mr. J. B. Mitchell-Withers, of Sheffield, whose Paper has been printed above, pp. 146 to 152.

There was no evening meeting; but at a dinner given by the members to the President and local officers, Dr. Birch took occasion to

enlarge on the work done by the Association during the sixty years of its existence, and referred to the fact that it was now celebrating, under most auspicious conditions, its diamond jubilee.

NOTE.—The following names were omitted in the previously published list of the local members of Congress, and are now added to make that list as complete as possible:—

A. H. Allen.	Miss E. Leader.
E. T. Atkin.	Dr. Harold Leader.
J. H. Brammall.	Gill Parker.
H. P. Burdekin.	Mrs. Ryland.
Miss D. Butler.	G. Jackson Smith.
J. H. Doncaster.	Miss Staniforth.
Ald. G. Franklin.	H. Stirling.
Mr. H. Habershon.	W. Walker.
Mrs. Jackson	T. H. Ward.
Miss Jackson.	Dr. G. W. Williamson.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20TH, 1904.

MR. R. E. LEADER, PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Member was duly elected :—

Matthew Macnair, Esq., 1, Morris Place, Monteith Road,
Glasgow.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

- To the* Smithsonian Institution, for "Index to the Literature of Thorium, 1817-1902," by Cavalier Jouet, Ph.D. ; "Miscellaneous Collections," vol. i, Parts 1 and 2, 1904.
- „ Cambridge Antiquarian Society, for "Proceedings," No. XLIV, 1901.
- „ Royal Institute of British Architects, for vol. xi, Third Series, Parts 6 to 10, 1904.
- „ Rev. H. J. D. Astley, M.A., for "Tree and Pillar Worship," Transactions R. S. L., vol. xxiv ; and "Two Norfolk Villages," 1901.
- „ M. Hippolyte Verly, for "Les Monuments Cryptiques du Nord de la France, 1902."

Mr. A. R. Goddard exhibited a curious Matabele knife, also an early seventeenth-century carving knife, which Mr. Parkin, of Sheffield, said corresponded in every respect to similar articles manufactured at Sheffield at the present day.

Mr. Patrick, Hon. Secretary, exhibited a fine example of calligraphy in the shape of a copybook "by John Ayres, master of ye writing-School near St. Pauls free School in London, sold by ye Author at ye hand and Pen in Paul's Church yard," dated August, 1683. Spare leaves at the end of the book had been filled at a later date with

curious old woodcuts of animals, thought to be from early blocks by Bewick.

The Rev. H. J. D. Astley read the following letter from Mr. Geo. W. Miller, of Chislehurst, with reference to the discoveries there; in which the extract from a letter of M. Hippolyte Verly shows that that distinguished savant is of opinion, from his own experience in similar explorations, that the opposite theories of Mr. Nichols and Mr. Forster with regard to the antiquity of the caves may both be correct.

“ White House, Chislehurst,

“ April 9th,

“ DEAR SIR,—M. Hippolyte Verly, President de la Commission Historique du Nord, has requested me to present in his name the enclosed monograph on the cryptic remains in the North of France, to the library of the British Archaeological Association. Seeing that the analogous cases at Chislehurst have been much under discussion during the past two Sessions, M. Verly's work, with its excellent illustrations, should be of interest to members. I recently sent M. Verly a series of photographs of our caves, together with the first paper read at a meeting of the Association by Mr. W. Nichols, and a plan which Mr. Nichols had made since then.

“ In his letter of acknowledgement M. Verly writes : ‘ Ces cryptes de Chislehurst me paraissent exceptionnellement majestueuses. Ce que vous me dites de leur structure, de la correction de leurs murs, et de l'élégance des voûtes, écarte absolument, ce me semble, l'hypothèse d'une exploitation industrielle. À l'évidence, de pareilles cryptes ont été des habitations humaines. Il se peut qu'à des époques plus rapprochées, et en raison de la nature du sol, on y ait pratiqué des extractions de calcaire. Mais assurément l'origine est autre. Les archéologues, à mon avis, doivent se défier d'une confusion que voici : c'est nécessairement dans les terrains calcaires que les hommes de la période lithique se sont creusés des abris, et c'est dans les mêmes terrains que les constructeurs de toute époque sont allés chercher la matière de leurs mortiers, superpositions de travail qui désociente les savants et les conduit souvent à des conclusions tout à fait fausses. Peut-être vos magnifiques souterrains présentent-ils un de ces cas embarrassants et complexes.’ ”

“ I am, Dear Sir,

“ Yours faithfully,

“ GEORGE W. MILLER.

“ Rev. H. J. D. Astley.”

A Paper was read by Mr. Leader on “ Sheffield Cutlery and the Poll Tax of 1379,” which will be published.

Mr. Goddard, Mr. Gould, Mr. Rayson, Mr. Williams, the Rev. H. J. D. Astley, Mr. Kershaw, Dr. Birch, and others, joined in the discussion. A second Paper was read by Mr. Patrick in the absence of the author, Mr. A. Denton Cheney. This was entitled “ Shepway Cross and the ancient Court of Shepway,” and will be published.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 4TH, 1904.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The Ballot was declared open, and, after the usual interval, was taken, with the following result :—

President.

R. E. LEADER, Esq., B.A.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND; THE MARQUESS OF RITON, K.G., G.C.S.I.; THE MARQUESS OF GRANBY; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.I.; THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BUGHTON, BART.; THE LORD MOSTYN; THOMAS HODGKIN, Esq., D.C.L., F.S.A.; COL. SIR WALTER WILKIN, K.C.M.G.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq., F.Z.S.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq.

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF DURHAM.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.

I. CHALKLEY GOULD, Esq.

ROBERT HOVENDEN, Esq., F.S.A.

REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A.

CHARLES LYNAM, Esq., F.S.A.

W. J. NICHOLS, Esq.

J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., F.S.A., LL.D.

BENJAMIN WINSTONE, Esq., M.D.

Honorary Treasurer.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

Honorary Secretaries.

GEORGE PATRICK, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.

THE REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., F.R.S.L., F.R.Hist.Soc.

Council.

REV. H. CART, M.A.

W. DERHAM, Esq., M.A., LL.M.

THE REV. C. H. EVELYN-WHITE, F.S.A.

R. H. FORSTER, Esq., M.A.

RICHARD HORSFALL, Esq.

T. CANN HUGHES, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

W. E. HUGHES, Esq., F.R.Hist.Soc.

S. W. KERSHAW, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

BASIL LAWRENCE, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

R. DUPPA LLOYD, Esq., F.R.Hist.Soc.

A. OLIVER, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.

SAMUEL RAYSON, Esq.

W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.

C. J. WILLIAMS, Esq.

T. CATO WORSFOLD, Esq., F.R.Hist.Soc.

Auditors.

CECIL DAVIS, Esq.

R. H. FORSTER, Esq.

The Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, *Hon. Editorial Secretary*, read the following :—

Secretaries' Report for the year ending December 31st, 1903.

“The Honorary Secretaries have the honour of laying before the Association, at the Annual Meeting held this day, their customary Report on the state of the Association during the year 1903 :

“(1.) The number of Associates has very considerably increased as compared with several years past. This is partly due to the Congress held at Sheffield, which was a gratifying success, both financially and as adding strength to the Association ; and to the individual efforts of our Vice-President, Mr. W. J. Nichols, who has set an example which all the members would do well to follow. The Associates now number over 300, after deducting all losses from death or resignation.

“(2.) Obituary notices of Associates continue to be inserted as opportunity offers.

“(3.) The Library, as announced in our issue for April, is now housed in University College, Gower Street, and is constantly receiving additions in the shape of valuable presents. The catalogue is published, and can be obtained for 1s.

“(4.) Thirteen of the Papers read at the Westminster Congress, and during the winter in London, are printed in the *Journal* for 1903, which is illustrated with twenty-five plates and process blocks, many of which are contributed by the writers of the Papers, to whom the Council hereby accords hearty thanks. A considerable stock of Papers is in the hands of the Editor, of which those approved by the Council will be published as the space at his disposal permits.

“(5.) The meetings of the Association are now held monthly, on the third Wednesday in the months from November to June. This has not diminished the amount of literary matter supplied, as two Papers have been read at each meeting, and both in Exhibits and Papers the Association is well up-to-date.

“Local Members of Council and the Associates, as a body, are again earnestly invited to supply accounts and, if possible, photographs or illustrations of new discoveries or interesting events, at the earliest practicable opportunity.

“H. J. DUKINFELD ASTLEY, } Hon.
 “GEORGE PATRICK, } Secs.”

Dr. W. de Gray Birch, Treasurer, read the following :—

Treasurer's Report.

“The Treasurer has the pleasure of reporting that the deficit of last year, December, 1902, has been turned into a substantial surplus at the end of 1903, as will be seen by the Balance Sheet. He would desire to impress on the Associates the necessity of paying their subscriptions early in the year. It is hoped that at an early moment the state of the funds will warrant the Treasurer in proposing that the quarterly *Journal* may be resumed, in place of only publishing three parts a year.”

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31ST DECEMBER, 1903.

RECEIPTS.

1903.	£	s.	d.
To Subscriptions	200	9	6
" Entrance Fees	8	8	0
" Proceeds of the Sheffield Congress	60	9	3
" Sale of Books	15	4	4
" Donation to Illustration Costs	2	0	0
" Balance at Bank, January 1st	73	2	1

EXPENDITURE.

1903.	£	s.	d.
By Advertising in the <i>Athenæum</i>	3	4	8
" Warehousing Stock	2	2	0
" Printer's Bills, paid	136	17	11
" Illustrations, paid	4	4	6
" Treasurer and Sub-treasurer	30	0	0
" Editor	21	1	0
" Secretary	10	5	0
" Rent for Year	13	13	0
" Archaeological Index Bill	2	3	9
" Delivery of <i>Journals</i> and other Postages	12	1	9
" Tea at Evening Meetings	3	17	8
" Deposit in P. O. Savings Bank	50	0	0
" Balance at Bank of England, December 31st	70	1	11
	£359	13	2

Jan. 1st, 1904.

	£	s.	d.
To Deposit in P. O. Savings Bank	£75	1	11
" Balance at Bank of England	5	0	0
Less Cheque outstanding	70	1	11
Credit Balance, subject to Liability to Printer of £58 3s.	£120	1	11

Capital Account—December 31st, 1903.

	£	s.	d.
Investment in Consols	[Cost £3	1	11]
"	[" 8	16	10]
"	9	2	3
£12	1	0	

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Hon. Treasurer.

Audited and found correct, 31 March, 1904.

(Signed) CECIL T. DAVIS } Auditors.
R. H. FORSTER }

WEDNESDAY, MAY 18TH, 1904.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following members were duly elected :—

Rev. C. T. Astley, Summer Bank, Llandudno, N. Wales.

Mr. William Wesley, Essex Street, Strand, W.C.

Mr. and Mrs. Henry Rüffer, of Menibai, 51, Crystal Palace Park Road, S.E.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—

To the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society for "Transactions," vol. xxvi, Part 1.

„ Brussels Archæological Society for "Journal," 1904.

„ Society of Antiquaries, Scotland for "Proceedings," 1902-1903.

„ Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland for "Journal," vol. xxxiv, Part 1, 1904.

„ Kent Archaeological Society for "Archæologia Cantiana," vol. xxvi.

„ Smithsonian Institution for "Twentieth Annual Report of Bureau of American Ethnology, 1898-99."

„ Museum of the Kingdom of Bohemia for "Report," 1903.

A Paper was read by Mr. R. H. Forster, on "Durham and other North-Country Sanctuaries."

A second Paper was read by the Chairman, on the question "Can Votive Offerings be the Subject of Treasure Trove?" which supplemented his previous paper read on December 16th last, upon the recent decision of Mr. Justice Farwell that the finds at Lough Foyle were "treasure trove," and belonged to the Crown as such.

Both these Papers will be published. Time did not allow of any discussion upon them.

At the Council in the afternoon the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Patrick, called attention to the needless and persistent destruction by the Town Council of Berwick-on-Tweed of the Edwardian walls of that interesting old town; and the greatest regret was expressed that the Town Council were unable to appreciate the value of the remains of the ancient glory and history of their town. Printed slips describing the present condition of the walls and towers, forwarded by Dr. King, the Vicar of St. Mary's, Berwick-on-Tweed, were circulated at the evening meeting.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15TH, 1904.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.-P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

To the Society of Antiquaries for "Scheme for Recording Ancient Defensive Earthworks and Fortified Enclosures."

„ Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society for "*Journal*," vol. xxvi, 1904.

„ Royal Archaeological Institute for "*Journal*," vol. lx, No. 240, December, 1903.

The Rev. H. J. D. Astley exhibited a volume of sermons preached in various parts of Norfolk during the Commonwealth period, entitled "*Præterita: a Summary of Sermons by John Ramsay, Minister of East Rudham. Printed by Thos. Creak, for William Reade, at his house over against ye Bear Tavern in Fleet Street, 1660.*"

Mr. S. W. Kershaw said the dedication of the first sermon in the volume to Mr. James Duport offered interesting data as to the family of Duport, who had settled in East Anglia, as refugees from France. The name Duport has also been connected with Caius College, Cambridge. The sermons preached in Norfolk would naturally lend themselves in dedication to one of a noted local family.

Mr. Patrick exhibited, on behalf of Mr. Winder, of Sheffield, a curious earthenware water-pipe, about 12 in. in length and 4 in. in diameter externally. Each pipe at one end is shouldered to form a neck 3 in. in diameter, for insertion into the next pipe, where the two were joined with a very hard cement. The pipes are of a rich brown glaze outside, very like Brampton ware, but where broken the section shows a close-grained bluish earthenware. At the thick end of some of them there is a narrow band sunk, about $\frac{3}{16}$ ths of an inch wide, and half that in depth, having raised dots, about six to an inch, in the circumference. About 3 in. from the neck the pipe is rough, the surface of the rest of the length to the band being quite smooth. A broken pipe shows the interior to have corrugations, more or less spiral, like the thread of a screw, the corrugations being about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. from ridge to ridge. Some twenty to thirty of these pipes were dug out of an old cart-track, 7 to 8 ft. below the general level of the ground, the pipes themselves being from 2 to 3 ft. below the track level, in Canklow Wood, near Rotherham. The site is within a mile of Templeborough Roman camp; but whether they had any relation

to the camp, or are of Roman or mediæval origin, there is no evidence to show.

A Paper was read by the Rev. H. J. D. Astley upon a subject which at first sight might seem to have but little relation to archaeology, viz. : "Was Primitive Man Ambidextrous?" but the Paper was instructive and very interesting.

Mr. Astley deduced from the many implements discovered in Kent, in France, and elsewhere, belonging to the so-called Eolithic Age, which he preferred to call the "Proto-Palæolithic Age," adapted for use by the left hand, and almost as numerous as those for use by the right hand, that from the earliest period man was an ambidextrous being. As we descend the stream of time to the dawn of history, we find man continuing to use both hands impartially. Palæolithic Man, in his artistic representations of animals, birds, etc., drawn on rock and pieces of bone with equal facility from both left and right, must have been ambidextrous, although for purposes of warfare he had begun to use his right hand for offence and reserve the left for defence. The Neolithic Age affords evidence in the pounders, knives, scrapers, borers, and hammers that, for purposes of domestic life, man still used both hands indifferently. In the Bronze Age, all weapons were hafted, so that there is no actual evidence forthcoming as to the use of the left hand; but that the right hand had not yet finally obtained the victory may be deduced from the fact that the Semites, Greeks, and Romans, at least apparently, wrote first by preference with the left hand, and that the early Greeks and Romans wrote impartially with both. It was not until well within the historic period that the right hand finally achieved the predominance it has maintained to the present day.

Mr. Cheney, Mr. MacMichael, the Chairman, and others took part in the discussion which followed.

The Paper will be published *in extenso*, under the auspices of the Ambidextral Culture Society, before which body, and in furtherance of whose objects, it was originally read.

N.B.—The Editor has received a number of Books for notice in the pages of the *Journal*, but the Reviews of these, together with other antiquarian intelligence, and the Obituary Notices, are unavoidably postponed owing to the exigencies of space.





THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

DECEMBER, 1904.

NOTES ON THE FOREST OF GALTRES.

By S. W. KERSHAW, F.S.A.

(Read, in connection with the Sheffield Congress, January 20th, 1904.)



THE traveller from York about fifteen miles northwards will now little realize he is traversing this ancient forest, one of the most important districts in old times in the county of Yorkshire.

Few local historians refer in detail to this tract, described by one writer as a "Royal demesne, and preserved as a place of amusement for the British and Saxon Kings."

In like way, Hatfield Chase, about seven miles east of Doncaster, had in the centre of the ground a King's Palace; and De la Pryme, in his interesting *Yorkshire Diary* (vol. liv, Surtees Society), mentions that in 1694 "there is part of the Palace standing, being an indifferent large hall, with great courts and a garden."

Galtres, like other forests, has played its part in history, and specially came into prominence during the Commonwealth transference of property. All the district around was woody, a fact corroborated in Stukeley's *Diaries* (another Yorkshire annalist), who in 1694 wrote:

"We have a town not far from Tadcaster, called Haslewood; all the country thereabout was woody: you have Outwood and Cane Wood and the *forest of Gaultrees*."

Galtres anciently extended from the North Wall of York as far as Easingwold and Craik. It comprised about sixty townships, and nearly 100,000 acres, and continued a Royal Forest till 1770, when an Act of Parliament was obtained for its division and enclosure.

The word "Galtres" by some is said to be derived from the British "Cal a tre," which signifies "Nemus ad urbem," or, as the Romans called it, "Calaterium nemus," a woody place or forest. That it was a hunting-ground of the Saxon and Norman Kings is beyond dispute; when the former had established their heptarchy, the forests were reserved by each sovereign for his own amusement, and they seem to have appropriated those lands which were unoccupied.

Galtres abounded with deer, and this part of Yorkshire was in early times called Deira, or Deerland.

The pastime of hunting seems to have been held in remembrance by a figure of a wild boar, pursued and surrounded with hounds, slain by a man armed with shield and lance, and carved over the north gate of the west end of York Minster.¹

The government of Galtres and other northern forests forms a distinct phase of history. After the Yorkshire rising of 1536, what was called the "Council of the North" was formed and established at York. This council became a sort of Northern Parliament, and existed till the Civil War, when Charles I altered its enactments, by bringing them into conflict with a large portion of his subjects and with the Parliament of Westminster: another instance of the feeble Stuart policy, which often paralyzed and weakened England's welfare. The Council had supervision in Yorkshire and four northern counties, exercising civil jurisdiction; and it is likely that matters affecting forest laws were carried to this higher tribunal.

¹ Whether this remains at present is uncertain.

Mention of the boundaries of Galtres is found in the *Perambulation of the Forest* (9 Edward II, 1316), a document now preserved at the Record Office, London. About 1225, we read certain appointed persons were sent throughout England to choose in each of the forest districts twelve knights or freemen to perambulate the bounds, and to determine which forests ought to remain in their present state and which ought to be deforested. Galtres reached to the foot of Creakhill, near Easingwold, and its principal town was Sutton-in-the-Forest. In Camden's *Britannia* (1789) the forest is marked on the map, and that writer speaks of it as "a place shaded with trees in some places, in others swampy; at present famous for its horse-races, in which the horse that wins is entitled to a little gold bell." Leland's description is much the same, as "moorish and low ground and having little wood, but the higher part reasonably wooded and abounded in wild deer."

At All Hallows, York, a light was formerly placed at nightfall, in the octagonal tower, as a beacon to guide wayfarers through the dense approaches to the forest.

Leland also states that Galtres is the "*Calaterium nemus*" of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Through this ancient forest the river Foss flowed, rising near Craike Castle and joining the Ouse at York; the channel of this river was formed by the Romans to effect the drainage of a level tract that lay between the Ouse and the Hambleton hills. Of this stream Leland wrote: "It is slow, yet able to bear a good vessel, and ryseth in *nemore Calaterio*, or among the wooded hills now called Galtres Forest." This tract was then a most interesting portion of what is known as the Vale of York.

Having taken a glance at the early annals of Galtres, I now refer to some MSS. in Lambeth Library, which touch on its history in the seventeenth century. In that collection are the "Shrewsbury papers," seventeen volumes in folio, numbered from 694 to 710, comprising letters written to or by several of the Earls of Shrewsbury. Many are original and of great interest;

others are transcripts, and consist of stewards' accounts, charges and domestic affairs, as well as public matters much associated with the North of England.

In vol. xv (No. 708) are letters relating to the forest of Galtres, and from these I have extracted some brief notes. In this volume also are various papers relating to the government of the forest :—

1607. (No. 71).—"To the Earl of Shrewsbury concerning the deputy bow-bearer in the forest of Galtres; also about building a mill in the forest, which will be a hindrance to the place where the deer feed."

Other letters refer to disputes in the Forest Courts and to the keeper of the game.

1603.—Relates to keeping the forest in order, and selecting a Verderer. From Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, recommending Mr. Hildyard as overseer, to the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Chief Justice in the North.

1604. (No. 127).—"From Mr. Hildyard, complaining of sheep and cattle being put into the forest, of trees being felled, of only two keepers: the more he looks into the forest affairs, the harder he finds to redress them."

The letters above named are written in a fairly clear hand of the period, and may be compared with those in the Record Office ("Domestic Series," Reign of James I), which are fuller in their contents than the Lambeth series, as illustrating this subject.

Some of the extracts from the Rolls Papers are as follows :—

1608. *The King to the Earl of Shrewsbury*.—"Orders him to enforce the execution of the forest laws in Galtres, where deer are much diminished, and to prevent the tenants keeping too many cattle there; to expel sheep and order certain proportions of hay for the use of the deer."—*Domestic State Papers, James I.*

1611.—"Lord Sheffield hears of an intention of disforesting divers forests, hopes Galtres will be saved."

Many orders occur for grants of office of bow-bearer, forester, and steward. In these letters the offices of

“riding forester,” as well as a “foot forester,” are mentioned.

In the reign of Charles I, we read of that King's usurpation of this and other forest tracts for his own use, much to the hurt of the people's enjoyment; and in 1630 a warrant to Lord Wentworth (President of the North) to preserve the woods and deer in Galtres, “for better storing a park of 1,000 acres, that his Majesty intends to have in some convenient place.”

The intimate relations between the Government of the North and the forests elucidate many local customs, small perhaps in themselves, but bearing on the maintenance of these woods.

The Commonwealth wrought a change in this, as in other Crown lands; the disafforesting took place, and lands were assigned in lieu of common to the fifteen townships interested, especially Easingwold, Sheriff-Hutton, and others; and suggesting in 1651 that a Commission should be issued to discover what has been made by the sale of Galtres forest. In 1637, the settlement of some French and Walloon refugees in Galtres offers an interesting historical fact; these “strangers,” so-called, had previously settled in Hatfield Chase, where they had a congregation at Sandtoft Church. They became better tenants in Galtres than previous occupants on the now disforested lands. Houses were built for the newcomers, and Charles I licensed a service in French, to which the Archbishop of York assented, as well as providing an allowance for the minister. The settlement is described at full length in Baron Schickler's scholarly work on the *Churches of the Refuge in England*, 1892, vol. ii, pp. 55, 56. The barren land was cultivated by the refugees, and skilled labour introduced. A similar treatment took place in Hatfield Chase, where by the energy of a Dutch engineer, one Vermuyden, in the reign of James I, all former forest waste was drained and made fit for use. De la Pryme, whose Journal I have before quoted, is replete with interesting facts on this matter.

In 1644, Prince Rupert lodged his army in the forest of Galtres before the fatal battle of Marston Moor, when

some parts of the forest were entirely stript of wood. After the Commonwealth, Galtres disappears in a way from history, and in 1770 an Act for its enclosure was passed; and this ancient tract, that has had a long and varied past, became merged into the surrounding districts.

The forest laws were closely associated with the great Charter of England, and their local differences and customs recall many primitive usages, valuable alike to the historian and antiquary.





LAUGHTON-EN-LA-MORTHEN CHURCH, YORKSHIRE.

BY REV. T. RIGBY, VICAR.

(Read at the Sheffield Congress, August 13th, 1903.)



THE church in which we are now assembled was carefully examined during the recent restoration, and we find that this is the third church that has been built on the same site. Each of these churches has been built of a different kind of stone, which can be easily distinguished. All the three churches have been of the same length, as I shall presently show you, and portions of the two previous churches were incorporated in the present building. You will find the three doorways of the three churches built within one another, at the west end of the north wall. These can be best seen from the outside of the church.

The first church was of Saxon origin, and was built of a reddish kind of grit-stone, supposed to have been obtained from the neighbouring parish of Wickersley, where many of the grinding-stones used in the Sheffield trades are still quarried. Of this church there still remains the west end and part of the north wall of the north aisle, the lower portions of the chancel walls, and the piscina in the south wall of the sanctuary; thus showing that the first church was of the same length as the present church.

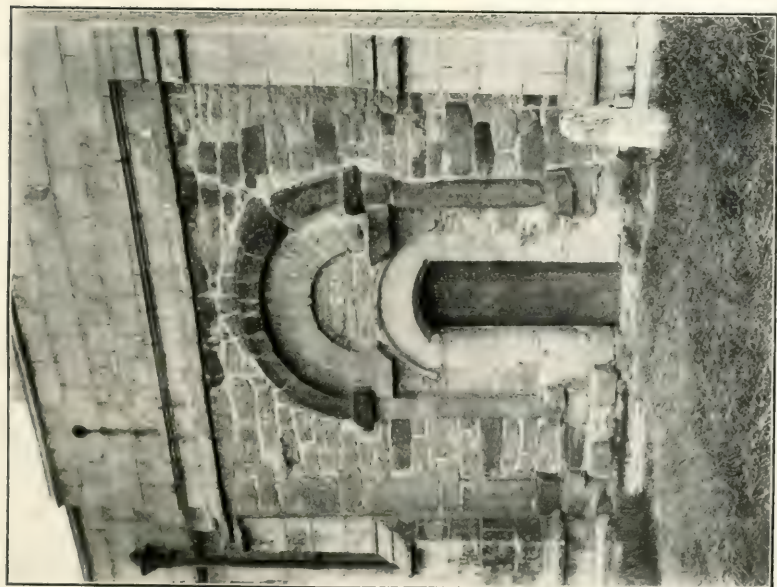
The Saxon doorway is considered by some to be a good specimen of carpenter's masonry, and to mark the transition period from wooden to stone building. The remarkable thing about the Saxon walls at the north-

west end of the church is that they have been built without foundations, as we understand the term. The lowest stones in these walls are plainly visible from the outside of the church. What was the end of this first church we have no information. It may be that it was destroyed in that war of revenge in 1069, when William the First declared that, in consequence of the rebellion, headed by Earls Edwin and Morcar, their territory should be made a desert. It is a significant fact when, fourteen years after the survey recorded in *Domesday Book* was completed, the lands of Edwin and Morcar were entered as "*wasta*"—laid waste. This would account for there being no mention of a church at Laughton-en-la-Morthen in *Domesday Book*, and also for an Early Norman church having been built at the other end of this village, and within ten minutes' walk from this church. The greater part of that ancient church—dedicated to St. John the Baptist—still remains, but is enclosed in walls of a much more recent date, and of no great beauty.

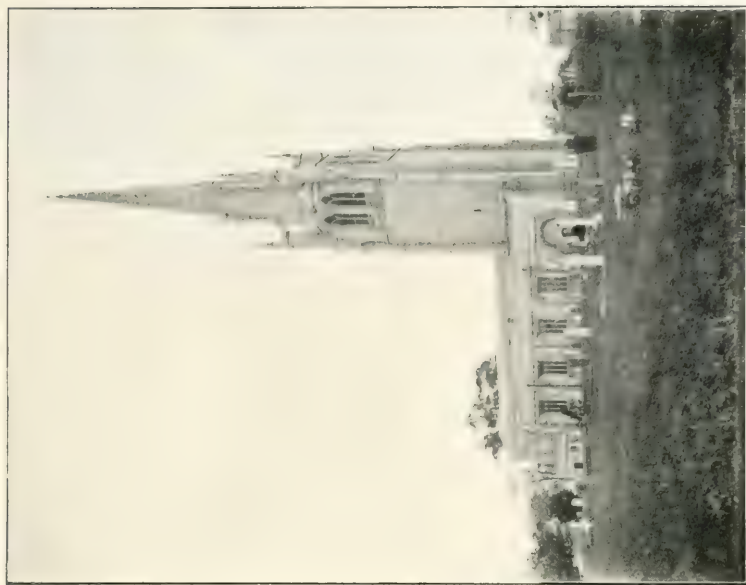
Whatever was the fate of the first church here, the Vicar knows to his sorrow that William the Conqueror confiscated the tithes of Laughton, and they were held by the Crown until the year 1107, when Henry I gave them to York Minster, and the prebendal stall of Laughton en-la-Morthen was founded in that cathedral.

The second church was Late Norman, and built of Roche Abbey stone. Of this church, there remains incorporated with the present church the cylindrical columns with square capitals, on the north side of the nave, the stone screen at the entrance of the chancel, and the tracery of the Norman windows and doorway, which were inserted in the Saxon walls of the chancel.

This second church was destroyed during the insurrection of the Barons in the reign of Edward II. In 1322, a petition was presented to Parliament, in which the then inhabitants of Laughton complained that John de Mowbray—that is, Lord Mowbray of the Isle of Axholme—and other adherents of the Earl of Lancaster, had despoiled their church, and carried away their cattle, in their attack upon Laughton. They were answered that "they might recover against the survivors by writ of trespass."



LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MOÏTHEN : SACS DOORWAY.



LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MOÏTHEN : FROM NORTH.

(Mowbray had been executed at York.) In the destruction of the second church, the north-west corner of the first church and the chancel were spared, either from motives of reverence or superstition.

We now come to the present fourteenth-century church. On the centre window of the south aisle, forming the terminals of the weather-board, you will find the crowned heads of Edward III and his queen, and on the corresponding window of the north aisle the crowned heads of Richard II and his queen. This is considered to indicate that this church was erected in the closing years of Edward III and the beginning of the reign of Richard II, say, about 1377. If this was so, then the second church must have laid in ruins for half a century. Probably Parliament was slow to move, and the money difficult to obtain, in those turbulent times. Besides, there was St. John's Church, sufficiently large to accommodate all the parishioners for public worship.

This church is built of stone, quarried at Slade Horton, a hamlet in this parish. The excellent quality of this as a building stone is proved by the fact that, although this church was built nearly five and a-half centuries ago, there is not a bad stone in it at the present time.

I often think what a saving it would have been to the nation if the stones for building the Houses of Parliament at Westminster had been obtained from Slade Horton instead of North Unston, the distance between the two places being less than four miles.

This church is dedicated to All Saints, and consists, as you see, of north and south aisles, nave, chancel, tower, and spire, with flying buttresses. The tower and spire rise to the height of 185 ft. from the level of the church-yard. When this church was built the walls of chancel appear to have been raised, the Norman windows replaced by the present windows, and the old Saxon walls strengthened by the erection of buttresses. The lady-chapel was at the east end of the south aisle, and there are traces of where it was screened off from the rest of the church. The piscina still remains. The small arch in the south wall of the chancel is formed from the doorway of the second church. To make room for the per-

pendicular window, one side of this doorway of the second church had to be broken up. For what purpose the recess within the arch was made it is impossible to say. It may have been a mere whim of the builders.

Architects who have visited many of the English and Continental churches inform me that the double cherubims formed on the base of the arches of this church are very uncommon in England, but frequently found in the churches of Normandy. This shows that the architect of this church, whoever he might be, was familiar with the churches of Normandy. The local tradition is that this church was built by William of Wykeham, and there is this fact to support it. William of Wykeham was appointed Prebend of Laughton-en-le-Morthen, in York Minster, in 1363; and one can hardly think that so good a churchman and so consummate an architect as William of Wykeham undoubtedly was would be content to receive the tithes of Laughton without making an effort to rebuild the church, which he must have known was then lying in ruins. It may have been through his great influence with Edward the Third that the money was at last forthcoming to erect this church.

The Rev. John Raine, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Vicar of Blyth, Worksop, took a great interest in this question, and was a firm believer in the local tradition. He concludes an essay he wrote in support of his theory with these words:—"Henceforth, then, let the educated gentleman, whether cleric or lay, when he approaches Laughton Church, remember that he has before his eyes a work of him who was once Bishop of Winchester and Lord High Chancellor of England; who, by his tact, sound sense, and good feeling exemplified through life the truth of his own motto, 'Manners makyth man,' and who will be remembered to all posterities for evermore as the architect of Windsor Castle and the founder of Winchester School and New College, Oxford."

Fifty years ago the nave of this church was re-roofed, and a gallery under the tower removed by Mr. Gilbert Scott. We regret that the oak roof of the nave was not

replaced, and that the several shields of arms¹ which were in the windows in Dodsworth's time have not been preserved.

Ten years ago the wall of the north aisle was so much out of the perpendicular as to be certified to be unsafe, and money was raised for taking it down and rebuilding it. When this was done, the roof of the aisle was lifted bodily, and propped until the wall was taken down and rebuilt. Every stone in the wall was numbered, taken down course by course, and laid out in the churchyard. When the foundations were reached, it was found that they had been undermined by a spring of water, so the excavation was carried down to the rock, and new foundations laid up to the level of the old foundations; then these were relaid, and the stones of the wall brought back course by course, and placed where we found them. Fourteen feet of the apex of the spire had to be taken down, in consequence of the iron dowels having corroded and burst the stones into such small fragments that they had to be taken down in bags. These were replaced by new stones, kindly supplied by the owner of Slade Horton (Hull) estate, and fastened together by copper dowels. All the iron ties were removed from the pinnacles and flying buttresses, and copper ties substituted. Inside the church the plaster was removed from the walls, and the colour wash and paint from the columns. The high square boxes, called pews, were removed. The church was re-floored, and open benches provided for the seating. This work was completed by May, 1896, when the church was reopened by the Archbishop of York.

Hunter supposes that the two kneeling figures on the north wall of the chancel are intended to represent Ralph Hadfeild and Margaret, his wife. Ralph Hadfeild was the first of that family to settle at Laughton. They resided at Laughton Hall, which is now in ruins, except the kitchens, which are used as a farmhouse. James Fisher, the Puritan Vicar of Sheffield (from 1646 to 1662), married a daughter (Elizabeth) of this family, March 7,

¹ These were—the arms of Archbishop Kemp: the arms of Cressy, and a quarterly Talbot and Furnival for one of the Earls of Shrewsbury. Allen's *History of York*, 1831.

1640, and is buried in the Hatfield vault in the chancel of this church.*

You will find the pre-Reformation altar-stone at the east end of the south aisle. We found it buried a few feet from where it is now placed. Hunter gives a list of the Vicars of this church from 1319. The church registers date from 1547.

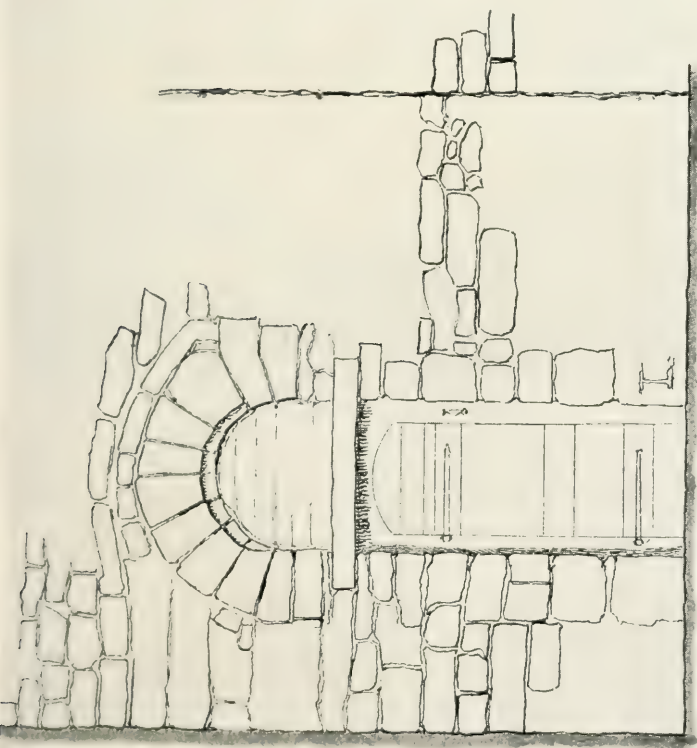
During the Commonwealth William Beckwith, of Thurcroft Hall, was Surrogate. He borrowed the church register, and entered in it all the marriages that took place before him. On the south wall of the chancel there is a marble slab on which is recorded a charity left to his parish by a descendant of this William Beckwith. It ends with this startling information:—"He died March 9th, 1819, aged 196 years." The explanation is that when the mason was finishing the lettering, someone informed him that William Beckwith was 97 years old. To which the mason replied: "O, then, I will put the one in front: it won't matter." This was before the day of School Boards.

On the wall of the north aisle there is a brass plate containing the following epitaph:—

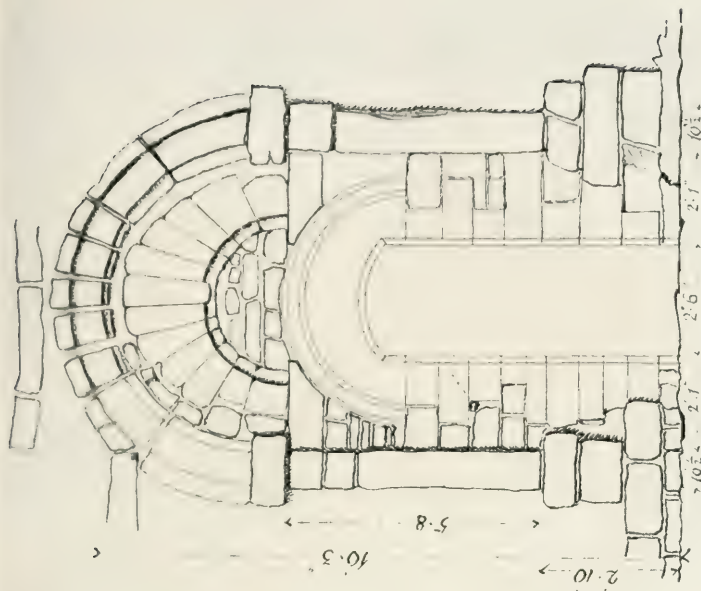
"Here lieth the Body of Mrs. Margaret Beckwith,
Who was translated to a better life the 5th day of
October, Anno Domini, 1676.
Hinc illæ lachrimæ."

This seems a curious quotation to follow the comforting assurance that Mrs. Margaret Beckwith had been "translated to a better life," but it is quite in keeping with the spirit of the times!





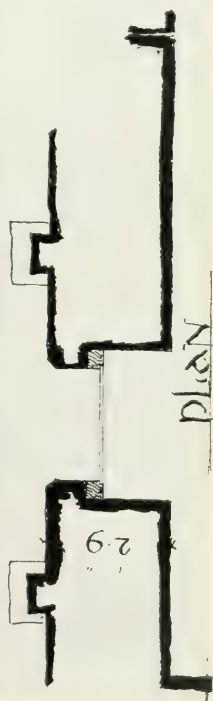
INTERNAL ELEVATION



EXTERNAL
ELEVATION

LAUGHTON - N. LE. NORTHERN WKS
NORTH DOORWAY

inches 2 6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 feet



PLAN



LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN CHURCH, YORKSHIRE.

BY CHAS. LYNAM, Esq., F.S.A.

Read, in connection with the Sheffield Congress, March 16th, 1904.



THE following observations refer only to the doorway in the western portion of the north wall and its surrounding walling. The examination of this early work took place on the occasion of the visit of the Association to Sheffield and its neighbourhood in 1903. Professor Baldwin Brown, in his *Arts in Early England*, writes: "In the enormous churchyard attached to the chapel of St. John at Laughton-en-le-Morthen, we are informed by the antiquary Dodsworth that a fair was held on Midsummer Day, to which people came from far and near." All who joined the party on the day of our visit will remember the remarkable size of this churchyard, and also the earthwork near it, which Professor Brown describes as "an Early Norman 'burh,' or moated mound." In his list of Saxon Churches, the Professor includes the work of this church, and designates it as "C" (north door of nave). This signifies that this doorway is accounted as a late example of Saxon work in the Professor's classification.

It is time we should look carefully at the work itself. Sketches of an external and internal elevation and plan, made on the spot, and geometrical drawings of the same, laid down to scale, will be seen on Plate I. Perhaps this early doorway is one of the most remarkable in the whole of England. The present actual doorway and door, with the jambs, segmental head, and hood-mould, are of modern date. Above this is the semi-

circular arch of an original doorway, rebated on its inner edge, with voussoirs increasing in length as they approach the centre line. The masonry of this arch is smoothly wrought, and its joints are closely fitted; but at the same time its stones are irregular in size, and their external line is irregular and unshaped.

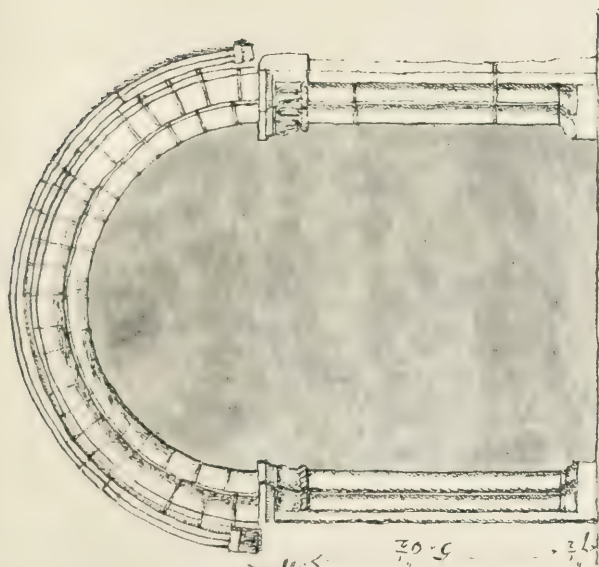
Looking at the inside elevation, it will be seen that the original jambs exist, but that a modern lintel has been thrown across the opening below the spring of the arch; that, again, a rebate follows the *intrados*, and that the arch-stones are of considerable size.

Again viewing the outside, what an extraordinary contrast is to be noticed in the rude architectural features which surround the actual doorway! Spaced at some distance from the jambs of the opening are projecting pilasters, starting from two courses of base stones in advance of the pilasters, and terminating beneath projecting imposts. The shaft on the west side consists only of two stones, the lower one very long and the other very short; on the east side of three stones, the lower long and the upper two very short. The arch springs from the imposts, and its stones are rebated on the inner edge, and on the face they project from the wall in continuation of the pilasters below them; whilst their outer surface is sunk back to line with the common face of the wall, the stones themselves being irregular in size.

This treatment of producing a projecting feature is not uncommon in Saxon work. It exists in the pilaster quoins at Wittering (Northants.) and in the arch of the south doorway at Heysham (Lancashire), and elsewhere.

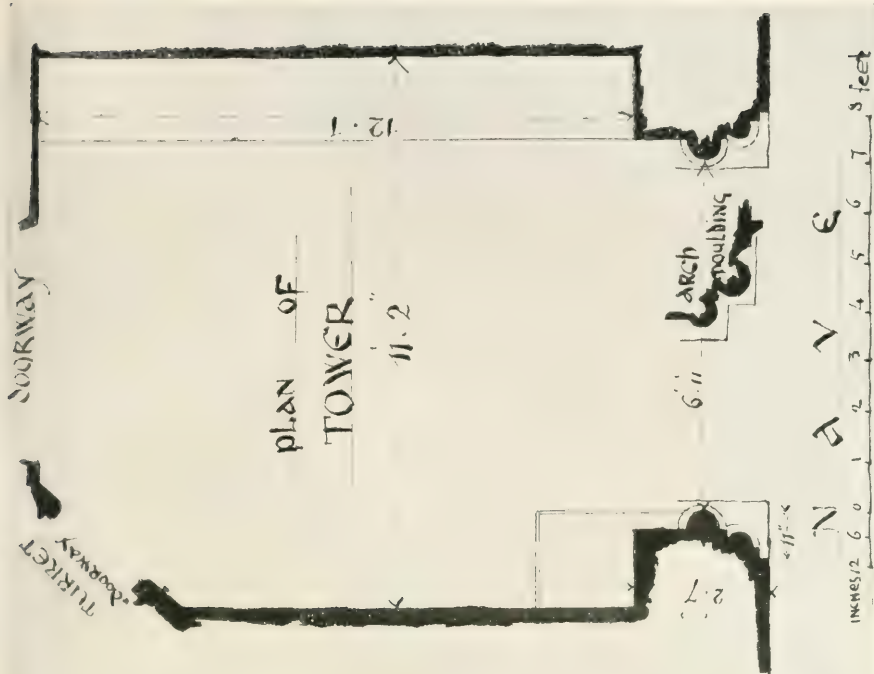
It should be said here that the two lower stones of the arch on the east side are modern, and there has been a certain amount of restoration generally.

From the plan and interior elevation it will be seen that there is a straight vertical joint in this wall, at some 7 ft. from the east side of the doorway: this line is the division between the earlier and later work of this part of the church. In rudeness of workmanship the external margin to the doorway could hardly be exceeded, and this may be said of the character of the walling also; yet, withal, there is a distinct architectural feeling which



ELEVATION NEXT WALL

CARLTON - IN - LINDRICK NOTTS



pervades the work, seen not only in its members but distinctly also in its proportions. Having regard to the refinements of the door-arch, and to the childlike struggle in the rude outer embellishment, one is inclined to ask whether the two are coeval in date, or whether the doorway itself is not of a later period. But it is well known that Saxon work has its close-jointed masonry, yet nowhere else (as known to myself) of such careful execution as here. May it not, then, be supposed that the outer frame, with its arch and pilasters, is of the earliest Saxon period and the inner of a later date? There is a touch of rough Roman feeling about the outer treatment, as though some clever workman, who could neither draw nor design, had struggled to put the thing together from recollection of some Roman work. The character of the work at Barnack, Heysham, and many other early examples amongst my sketches are in my mind, but not one of them seems to show such a desire for architectural attainment as this at Laughton-en-le Morthen.

The Congress did not go to the interesting church of Carlton-in-Lyndrick (Notts.), near to Sheffield, of which Professor Baldwin Brown says "C³ (enriched tower-arch)," the initial letter and number indicate Late Saxon. Of this tower-arch, a geometrical plan and elevation are annexed, for the purpose of illustrating the wide difference between the extreme rudeness of the Laughton example and what is really a scholastic design at Carlton (Plate II).

The difference is so great, and the Norman feeling of the Carlton archway is so apparent in its complete architectural essay, in its size and mouldings and members, carried up even to the enrichment of carving, that it is evident this example must lie on the border-line, if it does not betray itself as Norman work, executed by hands not the most skillful. In this church tower there are other marks of early features. On the south side near the ground, and again on its north side about the clock stage, fragmentary herringbone masonry is used, and in the quoin of the south-west angle of the nave, long and short work is present; but even these features may well mark the period of the border-line.

Heysham, Lancashire, of a later period than Laughton, but not less marked in its strong peculiarities of style, shows clear Saxon characteristics.

The subject of these lines barely admits of my doing so, but the temptation is too great for me to refrain from mentioning that within a week of the sad destructive electric shock which struck that church, I sketched at Swanscombe Church, Kent, the outside and inside of the south window of the tower, where "Roman" bricks are used to a great extent, with any sort of rubble that might be picked up in the field or by the roadside, not deserving the name of building material, and yet withal not unskilfully applied. Nearly all the early work in the county of Essex corresponds in character with that at Swanscombe. I sketched, also, the font at Swanscombe, the bowl of which bore sculptures of remarkable spirit, and was destroyed by the fall of the building.





ROCHE ABBEY, YORKSHIRE: ITS HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES.

BY REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., LITT.D., F.R.HIST.S., F.R.S.L.

(Read at the Sheffield Congress, August 14th, 1903.)



ROCHE ABBEY, the scant remains of whose former grandeur we saw around us this morning, was visited by this Association when it held its first Congress at Sheffield, in the year 1873, just thirty years ago. It was then described by the late Mr. Gordon M. Hills, and it forms also the subject of a sumptuous monograph by the late Dr. Aveling, who devoted many years of his life to the study of its history and architecture. About twenty years ago, the present Earl of Scarborough caused a large portion of the site of the ruins to be excavated, with the result that practically the whole of the walls of the church, and those of the buildings on the east and south sides of the cloister court, were laid bare. To the ecclesiologist, the origin of this house stands written plainly upon these few remaining walls. It could not have been anything but what it was—a Cistercian monastery. Let us, therefore, glance at the characteristics of the Cistercian Order and of the Cistercian style, before we briefly recapitulate what is known of the Abbey now under our notice, and examine its remains.

The Cistercians, like the Cluniacs, were an offshoot from the Benedictines, but their peculiarities and their place in English Art were due to their later emergence in point of time. The Benedictines were the great builders of the Norman period, and to them is due the development of the Norman-Romanesque style in England. The

great cathedral foundations of Ely, Peterborough, Norwich and Durham speak for themselves.

The Cluniacs, founded in 910 by Berno, at Cluni, in Burgundy, were only introduced into England in 1077, when the great monastery of Lewes was founded by William de Warrenne and his wife Gundrada, step-daughter of the Conqueror. Of this, no remains exist ; but the rich luxuriance of their later Romanesque, and their love of ornament for its own sake, may be seen in the beautiful west front of Castle Acre Priory, in Norfolk, founded in 1086 as a cell to Lewes, and in the Western Lady-Chapel at Glastonbury, more commonly called the Chapel of St. Joseph of Arimathea, to mention only two examples out of many.

The Cistercians, the originator of whose Order was St. Robert, born 1020, and brought up at the Abbey of Moutier-la-Celle, near Troyes, were not introduced into England till 1128 (*vide infra*), when they built their first abbey at Waverley, in Surrey. The first buildings at Roche partook, of course, of the general style and character of the age ; but the Cistercians were imbued with new principles and new ideas, and they were on the watch for new influences to develop in which they might embody in stone these principles and ideas. In their origin they were, as Canon Jessopp has well expressed it, "the rigid precisians, the stern Puritans of the cloister."

In this circumstance we discover a most interesting example of the fact which stands writ large upon the pages of history, viz., that the Puritan spirit is inherent in human nature. It appeals to some souls as to an innate instinct, and is the natural antithesis to luxury in living and gorgeous and elaborate ceremonial in religion. It is the swing of the pendulum from one extreme to the other, and must ever be allowed for and borne in mind in studying the influence of spiritual forces.

Before the Reformation, the Church retained all such within her own borders, and found a place and a work for them as for their opposite ; not only, as in the twelfth century, for the stern Cistercians, but, as in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, for the zealous and enthusiastic

Friars. How different has it been since then in England! After that great upheaval, all Puritans and enthusiasts have been forced alike to work outside the Church! The explanation of this may be that the National Church, having herself allowed the denial of the exorbitant claims of the Papacy to be pushed so far as to involve the breaking off of intercommunion, set an example of disruption which has been only too faithfully followed down to the present time; and hence the loss, first of the various Puritan bodies, then of the Wesleyans, and lastly of the Salvation Army, whose adherents correspond most closely to the Friars. Thus the severance of relations between England and Rome in the sixteenth century was the fruitful parent of what is best described as the present calamitous "dissidence of dissent."

Macaulay's famous passage recurs to mind in which he points out this distinction between the mediæval Church (and the Church of Rome down to the present time) and the post-Reformation Church of England. Speaking of the Reformation period, he says: "The Church of Rome thoroughly understands what no other Church has ever understood, how to deal with enthusiasts . . . (The enthusiast) may be vulgar, ignorant, visionary, extravagant; but he will do and suffer things which it is for her interest that somebody should do and suffer, yet from which calm and sober-minded men would shrink. Accordingly, she enlists him in her service, . . . and sends him forth with her benediction and applause" (*v. Macaulay's Essays*; Ranke's *History of the Popes*, pp. 561 to 563). A glaring instance of the different principles actuating the Church of England to-day is to be found in the treatment of the late Father Dolling by the present Archbishop of Canterbury.

Just as the mediæval Church knew how to control and use the enthusiast, so she knew how to control and use the Puritan. To the early Cistercians, as to the later Puritans, pomp and display, even in the churches and in the services of the sanctuary, were perilous. All that was gorgeous, and made strong appeals to the sense of beauty in sight or sound—other than was absolutely necessary—all *that* was of sin.

“No stained glass was allowed in their windows : no picture, save only such as represented some likeness of our Lord, was to be seen upon their walls ; no sculptured form or redundant ornament was tolerated anywhere ; no jewelled cup or chalices were to be displayed upon their altars ; no high tower, proud and self-asserting with its clanging peal, might be raised—only a modest turret with its single bell, to mark the times of prayer.”¹

Their reform was intended to abolish all luxury from the cloister, and it found one form of expression in the abolishing of all redundancy of ornament from their buildings.

Mr. E. S. Prior, in his interesting book, *A History of Gothic Art in England*, devotes much space to the development of the architectural characteristics of the Cistercian Order ; and it will not be out of place here to give a *resumé* of his able and convincing argument, before we consider more particularly the little that is left for our study at Roche, and the history of the Abbey.

The latest Romanesque effort, says Mr. Prior, had been at the service of elaboration. It was so in Ernulf's work at Rochester, on the Chapter-house front, and in the later west doorway of the cathedral ; so in the Cluniac façade of Castle Acre and the nave of secular Hereford, sculpture is applied to every surface in indiscriminate enrichment. To Cistercian austerity, however, this licence of architectural sumptuousness was abhorrent. As they rejected the bell-tower from their churches as the symbol of earthly sway, so they refused sculpture as savouring of earthly luxury. But here again art found its life from its conditions : its energy was turned inwards upon construction, and the power of sculpture, denied to surface, grew into the bones and sinews of Cistercian building. No longer relying on gorgeous robing for its distinction, architecture learned to stand in its own nude beauty, or dressed itself like a Grecian statue in the clinging vesture that expressed the sculpture of its form. Decoration came back to it as the accent of construction, the emphasis

¹ In contrast to the Benedictine monks, who wore a black habit, the Cistercians were required to wear a white one, and hence were distinguished as *white monks* from the very first.

of structural intention. In the last quarter of the twelfth century the purest and best Gothic architecture stands in the simplicity of shaft and moulded arch: decorative carving is confined to capitals, to a corbel here or a vault-boss there. At Roche, as at Fountains, and Kirkstall, and Furness, we cannot look for figure treatment. In the twelfth century, building was still a part of common life, and the joy of the builder in his work broke spontaneously from his chisel when he came to the capital that crowned the pillar he had raised. So in the widespread practice of stone building, carvings of flower and leaf came undesigned. Cistercian carvers were open-air workers, not cloister students. But this Cistercian building is a purely English departure, not derived—as has been sometimes supposed—from French Gothic. In breaking off from the Romanesque, English Gothic, as a matter of fact, pursued a totally different, though it may be a parallel, line to French. The Cistercian reformation expressed protest against Benedictine style, as it did against Benedictine luxury. It readily adopted the pointed arch-forms, but its methods in England are of English sample, and very different, for example, from Clairvaux and Pontigny; and it would be just as mistaken to call the style of the Burgundian abbeys English, as it is to call Fountains or Roche French. When Benedictine supremacy was invaded, then, under opposition influence, the Romanesque features were discarded, and “English Gothic” established itself. Thus it was a neo-monastic architecture that in the last part of the twelfth century grew conspicuously Gothic among the Cistercian builders of York, as here at Roche, and of the Welsh Marches, as well as in the canons’ houses, Augustinian and secular, elsewhere. “Art,” says Viollet-le-Duc, had its ‘89’ in 1170.” First in the series of revolutions by which modern society has been emancipated came that which freed art from Romanesque tradition. English art was perhaps somewhat less *vigorous* than French. Yet our church building was energetic enough in the one hundred years from 1140 to 1240. For the Cistercian Order alone there were founded in England during the last three-quarters of the twelfth century over one hundred

houses, and for each a considerable church was rapidly built, abreast of anything in Europe in the freedom of its Gothic creativeness. But these being only abbey churches, the Dissolution, as in this instance, worked their almost complete destruction, and the largest of them had small areas when compared with Laon or Chartres. This energy, and the separateness of the twelfth-century English development of architecture, can be plainly demonstrated in the English usage of the monastic plan, just as it is no less evident in every detail of our first Gothic. It is seen in the abandonment of the apsidal terminations to the choir, and the substitution of the square ending there, and in the eastern chapels of the transepts, no less than in the lancet windows, and the mouldings of shaft and capital. But the history of our early art has the misfortune that some three-quarters of the buildings in which were written the earliest proofs of its genius have entirely perished. Nevertheless, the ruins of the twelfth-century houses of the reformed Orders are found in every county of England; and generally they speak of a considerable building of the twelfth century, with marks of style that indicate the first achievements of Gothic experiment. Here, then, were the schools in which our English masons learnt their craft, with no need of faring abroad for the *atelier* in which to be instructed in the mystery of Gothic.

At Roche may be seen several examples of Cistercian corbels and capitals, which, while they mark the fresh departure, indicate at the same time, as at Rievaulx, Dore, Byland, etc., the presence of ideas which cannot be decisively declared to be the outcome of solely constructive efforts. Taking it as a whole, English Gothic expressed an intention of its own in every material that was presented to it. This afflatus would seem to have specially lighted on that Cistercian art which grew up in the Yorkshire abbeys. And though this art undoubtedly has peculiarities of its own, when compared with the Cistercian art of other parts of the country, yet there were reasons which in Cistercian building tended to suppress the creation of local types.

For conclaves of the Order, meeting year by year, brought the abbots of all the houses together; and, as in the statutes, so in the plan of Cistercian buildings is found a uniformity which marks them all over Europe. The English method of land tenure would also tend in the direction of a wide dissemination of general building methods. The custom of the Norman conqueror was to split up large estates, instead of allowing them to be concentrated, and landowners and convents, as such, held manors all over England where buildings were erected by them. This, and the custom of putting smaller religious houses as "cells" under the dominion of the larger, brought about a constant mingling of church-building ideas, to the effacement of local usage.

Yet, despite these influences tending to amalgamation, Gothic art developed itself as provincial in three or four distinct areas; and Roche, with Fountains, Rievaulx, and Kirkstall, belongs to what may be called a distinct Yorkshire school of Cistercian art. Working communities as the Cistercians were, whose first labour was their church building, each convent seems to have gone to school with the local mason.

The Church was with the Cistercians, as with all the monastic orders, the great central feature of the monastic establishment, unifying the whole composition, and bringing it into harmony with its surroundings; this is readily seen at Fountains, where the hand of the twin destroyers, time and man, have been more sparing than at Roche. Here, previous to the recent excavations, little remained above ground except the eastern walls of the transepts, with their chapels and a portion of the choir; now that the soil deposited by "Capability" Brown to a depth of 6 ft. has been cleared away, it is easy to imagine the appearance of this noble building in its complete state. In the entirety of its thirteenth-century completion, the whole body of such a religious house, with its definite enclosures and outlying dependencies, which gradually led up to the central massing, gave a spectacle of artistic creation such as has been hardly equalled in any other school of architecture. This unity and completeness of idea must have been especially striking in

the houses of the reformed societies, set down for the most part in the midst of a desolate wilderness, in which their domain was the one oasis of cultivation, their walls the one centre of hospitality. Mangled, as in Roche to-day, it still to some extent conveys the impression of secluded stateliness : a haven after long travel across wood, moor, and marshland. The central motive of the composition would be the long, level-roofed nave, that on one side lifted its walls sheer from the grass, its unrelieved outline but little broken by projecting transept, or the squat lantern of the crossing ; while on the other were the two-storied buildings set round the cloister, prolonging the return of western façade and transept ; so that the whole had the appearance of full squareness, to which in their detachment, infirmary and abbot's lodging only gave another note. Beyond, indeed, lay satellites with steep-pitched gables, hostels and barns, and the square blocks of gateways (of which the main gateway, of good fourteenth-century¹ workmanship, remains here), but all, as it were, graduated echoes of the main group, giving it scale, but subordinate and in no competition with the effect of the central masonry.

We are now in a position to consider the history and architectural remains of the example of Gothic art with which this Paper deals.

It was in the year 1147 that a certain Durandus, with a company of twelve monks, set out from Newminster—which itself was an offshoot from Fountains, and had been founded, along with Kirkstead and South Park Abbeys, in 1139 (the parent house dating from 1132), to establish another house in the wilderness of moor and wood which then covered South Yorkshire. Like all the Cistercians, he was seeking a spot of unappropriated land in a lonely situation, where he and his fellows might lead a holy life ; and we can imagine the joy with which at length they entered a nameless valley, whose tangled slopes were sheltered from the north by a range of lofty, gray, and venerable-looking rocks, and down whose midst ran a pleasant stream.

¹ "Fine thirteenth-century."—Mr. Hill. "Early part of the fourteenth century."—Dr. Aveling.

Legend tells a beautiful story of the motive which induced Durandus to select the site for his new abbey, and, as it illustrates the spirit of the age, we may be permitted to quote it here: "When Durandus, entering the wild and solitary valley, became convinced that the long-sought resting-place had been found, and stood elated with the beauty and fitness of the spot, one of the monks approached with tidings of a spring, surpassing infinitely any he had met with before; and another, with awed and eager step, related that, wandering near, he had found hewn out upon a rock, by God's own hand, an image of our Saviour on a Cross. This, doubtless, decided the wanderers, as they bowed in reverent devotion before that mystic rock!"

This peaceful and retired valley is situated in the parish of Maltby, and the stream flowing through it divided at that time the possessions of Richard de Busli and Richard Fitz-Turgis, lords of Maltby and Hooton. These two landowners joined forces to welcome and endow the strangers settled in their midst, and united to give the lands on both sides of the stream to the new community, leaving them free to place their buildings on whichever side suited them best. The foundation charters of these two generous co-founders are given in Dugdale, and a translation is given by Dr. Aveling. The original buildings were rude and poor; from the first the house, like all Cistercian foundations, was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and from the situation it was known as *Sancta Maria de Rupe*, Roche Abbey. Durandus was the first abbot—for all Cistercian houses were abbeys, in accordance, as Mr. Hills points out, with the democratic law of the Order. Experience of the Cluniac Benedictine reforms had shown the evil, as the Cistercians thought, of creating a princely prelate by subjecting numerous priories to one abbot.

Roche, though founded in 1147—only nineteen years after Waverley, the first abbey of the Cistercian Order in England—was already the thirty-seventh abbey of the Order; and between this year and 1250, when the last house was founded, more than one hundred Cistercian abbeys, as stated above, were planted on English soil. At

the Dissolution, seventy-five Cistercian abbeys were despoiled of their possessions by the King. Some had already perished during the intervening years.¹

As already mentioned, the first buildings at Roche were rude and poor, but in process of time the wealth of the house increased by continually-accruing gifts of lands and possessions, and, as was the case with every Order, increasing wealth meant better buildings: though, as has been pointed out, and as may be seen by an examination of the remains here, these buildings were carried out in entire accordance with the root principles of the Cistercian Order, and with the new and growing ideas of true Gothic art then springing into existence.

Dr. Aveling gives a list of twenty-seven abbots, after Durandus down to 1538, when Henry Cundal, the last of them, surrendered the house to Henry VIII. Of these, the worthiest and most distinguished was OSMUND, who presided from 1184 to 1223, a period of thirty-nine years.

Osmund came from Fountains Abbey, where he had been "Cellarer," and was a man of an ambitious and active mind. Under his rule all things prospered, and Roche soon became a rich and powerful abbey.

His first act was to obtain from Pope Urban III a confirmation of all the possessions of the house, which by

¹ In the *Journal* of this Association, vol. xxvi, Dr. W. de Gray Birch has published a list of all the Cistercian abbeys on the Continent and in the British Isles, founded between the years 1098 (the year in which the foundation of Cîteaux is placed) and 1234, from a MS. in the Cottonian Collection in the British Museum (MS. Cotton., Faustina B. vii, fol. 36). The total amounts to 368 down to 1190, a period of less than 100 years.

To this he subjoins a list drawn up by himself of all the Cistercian houses in England. According to this list, Furness has the honour of being the first abbey of the Order in England, having been founded in 1121, four years before Waverley, and Roche is the thirty-eighth in the list.

A very interesting pedigree of the abbeys is subjoined (from a MS. in the Bodleian Library (MS. Digby, xi, fol. 17).

It appears also that four or five houses were founded in the second half of the thirteenth century, while one was founded in the fourteenth (St. Mary Grace, Eastminster, or New Abbey, near London, 1349), and one in the fifteenth (St. Bernard's College, Oxford, 1437); and then the stream, which had long been failing, finally dried up. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxvi, pp. 281-299.

that time had become many and extensive, derived from a large number of previous benefactors. He also obtained a charter from Richard I, and another from the Countess of Eu, a descendant of the house of De Busli, to whom the possessions of the family, including the manor of Maltby, had been restored by Henry III.

When he had been eight years Abbot, Osmund was appointed Proctor for Cardinal Stephen (the Papal Legate), “*de omnibus proventibus suis in Angliâ*,” “in such sort,” says an old deed, quoted by Dr. Aveling, “that he and his three immediate successors received of the goods of the said Cardinal, at different times of the year by annual payments, to the amount of 400 marks, out of which money they provided handsomely for themselves” (“*de quâ pecuniâ sibi competenter providerunt*”), so that their monastery was fully provided for. This being the case, Osmund was able to devote his attention to the completion of the buildings of his monastery. The architectural character of the remaining portions clearly points to the latter part of the twelfth century, and the opening years of the thirteenth, as the date of their erection.

The church, amid whose ruins we stood this morning, is a cruciform building of the exact Cistercian plan, having a nave of eight bays with aisles, transepts without aisles, but with eastern chapels, two on each side of the presbyterium. The latter is short, and has a square east end. The total length of the church internally is about 210 ft., and the width across the transepts, 99 ft. At the west end of the church are three doorways, giving access to the nave and aisles. There are no traces of division walls separating the latter from the nave, but the fine western bays are divided from the rest of the church by a low wall or screen, which appears to have extended across from side to side of the building. The excavation on the south side is not complete at this point, but in the north aisle traces of this wall are to be seen, with indications of a doorway. It has been supposed that the *conversi*, instead of occupying seats in the nave, as was the usual custom, were placed in the north transept. The foundation of the staircase leading from their dormitory is to be

seen in the south aisle of the church, and it seems reasonable to suppose that this doorway was for their use. In the centre of the nave portion of this screen wall is a doorway, the jambs of which are of early thirteenth-century date. On the western side of the screen, the foundation of an altar is to be seen on either side of the doorway. Near these an interesting discovery was made during the course of excavations, this being no less than a relic stone, containing the relics intact, and no doubt forming a part of one of these altars. Dr. Fairbank, in a Paper dealing with the results of the excavations, describes it as follows :—“ It is a cube nearly nine inches square. On one side of it, which was covered with colour wash, it was noticed that a quadrangular portion had been removed and replaced. On removing this inserted portion, a small capsule of lead, formed of a piece of sheet lead rolled up and pinched at the ends, was found. It is two and a-half inches long, and about one inch across at its broadest part. Inside this capsule were found two small fragments of bone, and two portions of a link of chain armour.” It has been suggested by Mr. St. John Hope that the relics are those of St. Godric, the hermit of Finchale, a favourite north-country saint, who began life as a knight, and afterwards turned hermit. In the north transept at Jervaulx, an altar remains, with a stone missing in the centre of the front, just under the top slab. Probably the missing stone contained a relic in like manner to the one found at Roche.

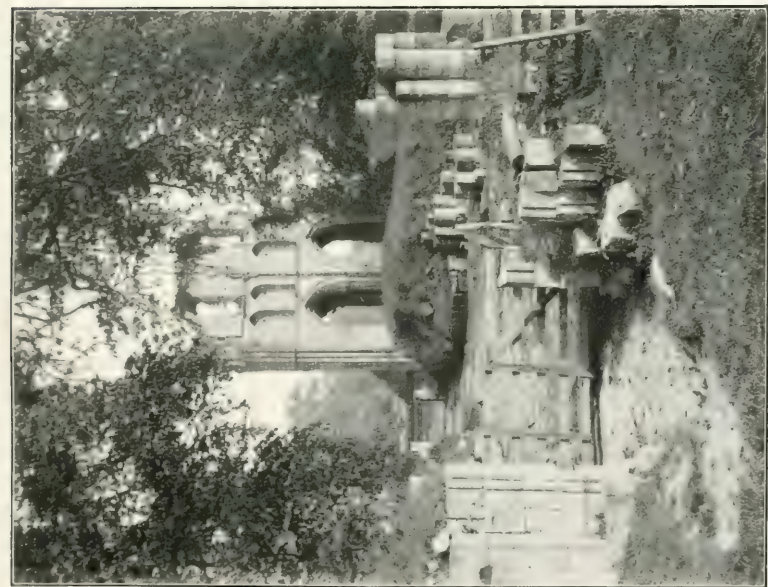
The nave west of the screen retains its original paving of square blocks of stone, unequal in size, and now broken and depressed in places, as a result of falling masses of masonry. In this portion of the church are several monumental slabs; one between two piers on the south side is quite plain, except for the sacred monogram, “ I H C,” in the centre. Two others, placed in front of the north altar in the nave, are in memory of members of the Rilston family, as may be seen from the Latin inscriptions which run round their margins. They date from the fifteenth century. In front of the entrance to the choir is another slab, having a large foliated cross on



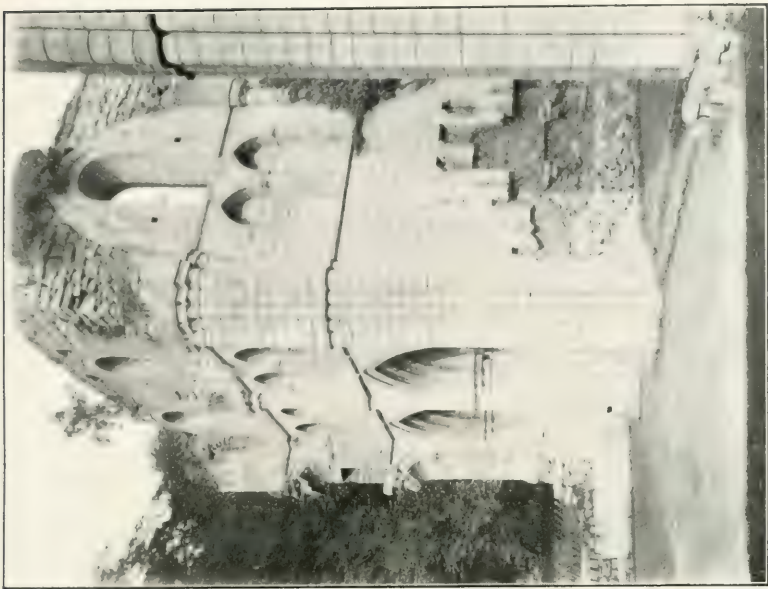
ROCHE ABBEY : TRANSEPT FROM NAVE.



ROCHE ABBEY : NAVE LOOKING WEST.



ROCHE ABBEY : FROM WEST.



ROCHE ABBEY : ACROSS TRANSEPT.

a calvary of three steps in its centre. Round the verge is an inscription in English, which has been deciphered as follows: "Here lygges (lies) Peryn of Doncaster and Ysbel (Isabel) his wyfe a gude trwe (true) brother whilom he was on lyfe. Jhu (Jesu) for they mercy bring yam (them) to bliss, Paternr(noster) for ym (them) whoso redis (reads) this."¹

The church east of the screen appears to have been paved with tiles. A few fragments of these have been discovered, quite plain, and with a yellow glaze. To the east of the south-west pier of the central tower is a floor piscina or drain, formed in the centre of a dished stone, which is about three feet square (shown on photograph of nave looking west). Traces of the foundation walls of the choir-stalls have been discovered, one bay east from the screen across the nave; but with these exceptions, this part of the church is grass-grown, and contains no further features of interest so far as its floor is concerned.

The eastern walls of the transepts, with the chapels, and the north and south walls of the presbyterium, remain in nearly a complete state. These enable us to form an idea of the original character of the building. The arches opening into the chapels from the transepts are pointed, with three orders of mouldings, each consisting of a bold pointed boutel. On the side next the transepts there is also a plain label mould. The piers in plan have round and pointed members, the latter on the four outer edges, those next the transepts being carried up as vaulting shafts. The triforium is literally a "blindstorey," the two pointed arches in each bay being merely recesses, with chamfers on their outer edges. In the presbyterium, the triforium is of a richer character. Instead of a plain chamfer, the edges of the recesses have small shafts, with caps and bases, and the arches have boutel mouldings. Separating the triforium from the tower and clerestories are plain string-courses, which appear to have

¹ Dr. Fairbank says that among the wills in the York Registry are two of interest in connection with this stone: those of William Peryn, senior, of Melton, and of his son John Peryn, both dated March 8th, 1404. Of John's will, there is only the Probate Act, which, however, speaks of Isabel his relict. Melton is near Doncaster.

been carried round the whole of the church, the upper one forming the *abaci* of the caps of the tower piers and vaulting shafts. The clerestory windows are round-headed, deeply splayed inside and out, and have plain label moulds on the outside. The church appears to have



South Transept Chapel.

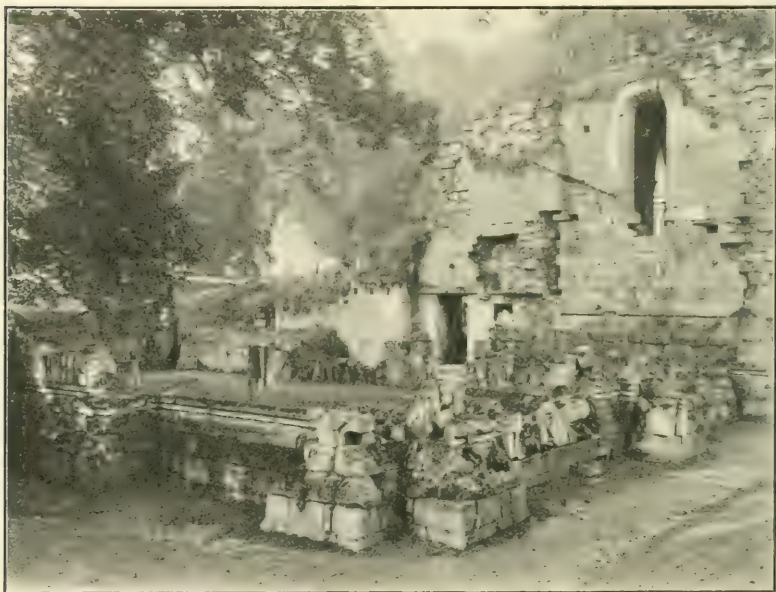
been vaulted throughout, but only the springers of the ribs remain at the clerestory level. The chapels opening from the transepts were formerly divided from each other by walls extending two-thirds the height of the piers. Each had originally a round-headed window at its eastern end, and the two outer ones had also a window on their north and south sides respectively. That in the

southernmost chapel still remains. In the fourteenth century, the eastern windows of these chapels were replaced by others of a larger size. Portions of the tracery of these later windows remain. In the south walls of two of the chapels are round-headed piscinas. The end of the north transept had three rows of windows, three in each row. The jambs and parts of the arches of the easternmost ones are still to be seen. There was also a doorway in the end wall of this transept. The end of the south transept would be modified, in consequence of the sacristy and dormitory, which abutted against it. There would be doorways leading to these apartments: that to the former is still *in situ*; and probably there would be a gallery, as at Kirkstall, from which the infirm monks could take part in the night services without the labour of climbing up and down the stairs.

The eastern wall of the presbyterium is almost entirely destroyed. From the great number of worked stones found at this point, it appears that a large window was inserted in the fifteenth century; probably before that date the windows were similar to those in the end of the north transept. A few feet from the east wall are the foundations of the high altar. On the north side are two recesses, above and around which are traces of pinnacles, and other carved stonework of a late date. Probably one was the Easter sepulchre, and the other and larger one a tomb. On the south side are similar traces of ornamental stonework: evidently the sedilia of three seats. To the east of this is a square-headed recess, divided by an upright stone into two parts, one of which contains a piscina.

The monastic buildings lay, as usual, to the south of the church. Those surrounding the cloister court have been laid bare to an extent which enables us to define their uses. To the south of the transept, and entered from it by a doorway and a descent of three or four steps, is a small apartment which was probably the sacristy. This apartment has also a doorway at its east end, leading to what—from the number of stone coffins found—appears to have been the cemetery of the monks. A further door on the south side leads to the chapter-house:

a rather unusual arrangement, but in this case there is no doorway from the cloister to the sacristy. The chapter house is about 59 ft. by 32 ft., placed with its long axis east and west. It has two pillars, dividing it into two aisles. Nothing remains of the walls of this apartment above the level of the base-court, the mouldings of which are of early thirteenth-century date. To the south of the chapter-house is the locutorium, or parlour, having



Ruins of Chapter-house.

doorways at its east and west ends. Next to this, and completing the range of buildings on the east side of the court, is the day room. This is entered from the cloister by a doorway, with another one opposite to it on the east side of the room. Further south on this side are traces of another doorway, but the presence of a large tree has prevented the complete excavation of this part of the building. Next to this, and on the south side of the court is the calefactory, or warming-house, the two large fireplaces on the west side of which are plainly to be

distinguished. Adjoining this on the west is the refectory, and beyond again to the west is the kitchen. The outer walls of these apartments can be traced, but they have not been entirely cleared of earth. The west side of the court was no doubt occupied by store-rooms and the apartments of the *conversi*, but here again trees have prevented the excavation of any part except the south wall, in the lower part of which there is an arch, perhaps that over the drain from the Rere-clorter of the *conversi*.

Portions of masonry exist to the south of the buildings already described, but the diversion of the stream and other alterations made by "Capability Brown" render their exact shape and use a matter of conjecture. To the north-west of the church is the fine thirteenth-century gatehouse, of which mention has been previously made. Attached to the south side of the gateway is still a fragment of the chapel used for the first devotions of strangers arriving.

These are the sole surviving remains of the once magnificent heritage of Roche Abbey, which now forms part of the domain of the Earl of Scarborough. For nearly four hundred years the inmates pursued in peace "the noiseless tenour of their way," "along the cool sequestered vale of life," in this equally sequestered spot, where they had made a garden out of a wilderness: when, at length, in 1538, the crash came which overwhelmed them, together with the rest of the religious houses. They had no history, and are therefore, it may be, to be accounted the more happy. No doubt, as time went on and possessions increased, the primitive simplicity was somewhat relaxed, and their lives were marked by greater comfort, not to say luxury.

The charters confirming the grants of these possessions often contain references which enable us to fix the dates of certain events with accuracy. For instance, with reference to the dedication of the church, I have already said that the architectural character of the buildings shows that the date of their erection was the latter part of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries. Now the charter of Idonea de Veteri Ponte, or de Vipont, who was to be buried in the monastery, gives to the

monks the manor of Sandbec *in dotem ad dedicationem ecclesie sue de rupe*. This lady was at the time a widow, her husband, Robert de Veteri Ponte, having died in 1228; after which, and before her death in 1241, the church must have been consecrated.

In 1878 Mr. S. O. Addy published a little volume containing sixteen Charters of Roche Abbey, the first fourteen of which were taken from a bundle of MSS. in the possession of a Mr. Hoyle of Rotherham, and then first printed. The muniments of Roche Abbey found their way, at the Dissolution, to the Tower of St. Mary's, York, a building which was destroyed, with its precious contents, during the Civil Wars in the seventeenth century. Fortunately, Mr. Hoyle's transcripts from the originals were made some time previously.

The last two Charters have also been published by Dr. Aveling.

From these Charters we derive some interesting information as to the lives and occupations of the Religious at Roche, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, of which the following brief notice must suffice. For fuller details I would refer the reader to Mr. Addy's booklet.

Charter VIII shows that the distant Abbey of Netley—or Lettelegh, as the Charter names it—had some extensive possessions in Laughton-en-la-Morthen, which the monks of Roche, in 1319, purchased for the large sum of 380 marks: this goes to prove the prosperity of the House before the calamity of the Black Death, mentioned below, overtook the land.

Charter XIII, dated 1361, threatens excommunication against such of the monks as play at dice or other unlawful games (including probably even chess, against which Archbishop Peckham thundered during his visitation of certain religious houses in 1270), frequenting taverns, gardens, vineyards, and other forbidden places, leaving off their proper habit, etc.; this affords evidence of the demoralizing effects produced on the inmates by that same Black Death: for evidently their *moral*e had been shaken, or a lower class of men had joined the Order.

Charter XIV, however, gives us a more pleasing picture of their lives at a later time, for in it Alan, parson of

Maltby, about 1440, grants tithes to the monks, issuing out of lands in the Parish of Maltby, which they cultivate with their own hands (*quas colunt propriis manibus*). As a rule, the *conversi* performed the manual labour, but here the monks themselves seem to have taken their share; and, as Mr. Addy remarks, here, as elsewhere, they have “left the impress of their refinement on the places where they dwelt.”

When Adam de Giggleswick was Abbot—1330-1349—the house passed through a period of depression, for, as a complaint made at that time to the Pope expresses it, “the alms and devotion of all men were diminished;” but in 1346 this was dispelled by a munificent donation from John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, of the church of Hatfield, with seventy marks per annum, the charter conferring it being preserved among the *Dodsworth MSS.* in the Bodleian Library, intitled as follows: “Carta Joannis de Warren, comitis Surr. admirantis magnificentiam operis lapidei hujus abbatiæ, necnon paucitatem monachorum, quapropter dedit abbatiæ eccl. de Haytfield Ebor. dioc. post cujus appropriationem XIII viri honesti et idonei *competentis literaturæ* capientur in religionem ultra numerum assign. a fundatore.”

Adam died in 1349, probably of the Black Death, which, according to Stowe, “decimated the realm” in that year.

Matilda of York, Countess of Cambridge, who died in 1440, directed in her will that her “body be buried in the Monastery of Roche, in the chapel of the Blessed Mary, before her image, situated in the *southern* part of the church of the said monastery.” This probably referred to one of the chapels opening from the south transept.

At the Dissolution Roche Abbey was worth, according to Dugdale, £224 2s. 5d., and according to Speed, £271 19s. 4d. per annum, but according to the Visitors it was only worth £170, and hence came under the Act which gave to Henry all the lesser monasteries of under £200 per annum.

Of its destruction an interesting account survives in a letter written by one Cuthbert Shirebrook, who was

born near Roche Abbey, and educated at the free school of Rotherham. He became in after-life a "dignified ecclesiastic." The letter was written about 1591, and describes what the writer's uncle, who was present at the suppression, was witness of. This letter is given by Dr. Aveling, and quoted by Father Gasquet in his *Henry the Eighth and the English Monasteries*; it is also mentioned in passing by Mr. Hills. I refer to it because it gives a unique account of the proceedings at this monastery, derived from contemporary sources: proceedings which are typical of what was going on all over England at that terrible time; and, further, because it throws considerable light on the internal arrangements of a Cistercian house.

Thus was Roche Abbey despoiled of its possessions, its buildings destroyed, its beautiful church desecrated and ruined, and its inmates turned out into the world. The Deed of Surrender is signed by Henry (Cundal), Abbot, Thomas Twell, Sub-prior, and sixteen monks; and, having given up their house with a good grace, they were all dealt well by. The Abbot's pension amounted to £33 6s. 8d., the Sub-prior's to £6 13s. 4d., and the monks' priests to £5, while the novices had £3 6s. 8d. each. In 1558, twelve of the eighteen who signed the surrender still enjoyed their pensions.

Down to 1776 the ruins remained in much the same condition as when Cuthbert Shirebrook wrote; but in that year Lancelot Brown, better known as "Capability" Brown, described in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as "the reviver of the natural style of landscape gardening," and best remembered as having laid out the gardens at Kew and Blenheim, was let loose upon Roche, and it is the havoc which his hands wrought that makes it so difficult to discover the plan of the buildings. Among other things, he carried the stream right over some portions of them! Dr. Aveling quotes the description of his proceedings from the account of a Mr. Gilpin,¹ who lived at the time; and remarks that, as Mr. Gilpin

¹ William Gilpin (1724-1804), Author, Schoolmaster, Vicar of Boldre, Artist. Descendant of Bernard Gilpin (1517-1583), and brother of Sawrey Gilpin (1733-1807).—*v. D. A. B.*

predicted, time has done a great deal towards rendering Mr. Brown's work more in keeping with the ruin. All true lovers of architecture will, nevertheless, as he says, always deplore the pulling down of detached fragments, and the heartless covering up of the ground-plan, which we know from the recent excavations still exists in great perfection.

The ruins which are yet standing are, however, sufficient, as I trust I have shown, to enable us to discover something of the beauty of Cistercian workmanship, and to enter a little into the spirit of the builders; sufficient, too, to make us realise the grievous loss which the destruction of Roche Abbey, like its compeers, has inflicted upon posterity, not only from a religious but also from an artistic point of view.

It is an interesting point to note, in conclusion, that the material for the beautiful groined roof of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, was brought from the Roche Abbey quarries—so it is stated in Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*—and this goes to prove the prescience of Durandus, when he fixed the site in a neighbourhood where such fine building stone was so easily procurable. It was with an eye to the possibilities of the future, as well as to its adaptation for his immediate purposes.

To quote Dr. Aveling once more: "Whatever may be the truth of the legend which attributes to Durandus a superstitious motive in choosing the site for his abbey, we have abundant proof that there were not wanting many substantial reasons to confirm him in his selection. Among these may be mentioned, not only the beauty of the situation—for beautiful it must ever have been, from its natural combination of rock, wood, water and pasture, even before it had received the attentions of Mr. "Capability" Brown—but also its complete seclusion from the outer world. This rendered it peculiarly suited to the requirements of the stern and rigid rule of the Order, one of whose special principles it was, in the selection of sites for their houses, that 'they should never be constructed except in places separated from all converse and neighbourhood of men.' In both these respects, and also in the abundance of water, it bears a striking

resemblance to Fountains. A further inducement to the monks to settle here must have been the unlimited supply of a splendid building stone : beautiful in colour, easily worked, and yet very durable, as is proved by the admirable state of preservation in which the remains of the Abbey Church continue to this day, notwithstanding their exposure to the weather for so many centuries."

The reputation, indeed, of the Roche Abbey quarry has long been widely spread ; and so highly is it still esteemed that when the new Houses of Parliament were about to be built, and search was made throughout the country for the best materials, the stone from this quarry was one of those ordered to be examined and reported upon.¹

¹ My warm thanks are due, and are hereby accorded, to Mr. J. R. Wigfull, A.R.I.B.A., for assistance kindly rendered in the preparation and correction of this Paper.





ROTHERHAM CHURCH.

By E. ISLE HUBBARD, Esq., M.S.A.

(Read at the Sheffield Congress, August 14th, 1903.)



THE documentary evidence of the parish church of All Saints, Rotherham, is scanty. As Rotherham was a manor before Domesday, it is probable there was a Saxon church at that time. That there was a Norman church in after-times we know from the Norman remains, which I shall presently show you, and from the old foundations discovered during the restoration of the church in 1873.

The parish church of Rotherham, dedicated to All Saints, occupies pretty nearly the same site as a former church, which existed in Norman times, for at the restoration of the church in 1873, under Sir Gilbert Scott, the foundations of the former church were discovered inside the walls. Inside the north aisle, this foundation was about nine feet from the present wall, in the south about three feet, and at the west end the wall was considerably within the present church. Further parts of the old church were found by the discovery of some Norman capitals, half an *abacus*, and part of a base, walled in under the piers of the present nave. These remains are of white magnesian limestone, similar to the Roche Abbey stone, and on examination of the aisle walls we find a great amount of this limestone is built into them. I am able to show you a plan which I possess of these old foundations, made at the time of the restoration under Sir Gilbert Scott.

The earliest parts of the present church are the arcades in the chancel, which inclines slightly to the south. The

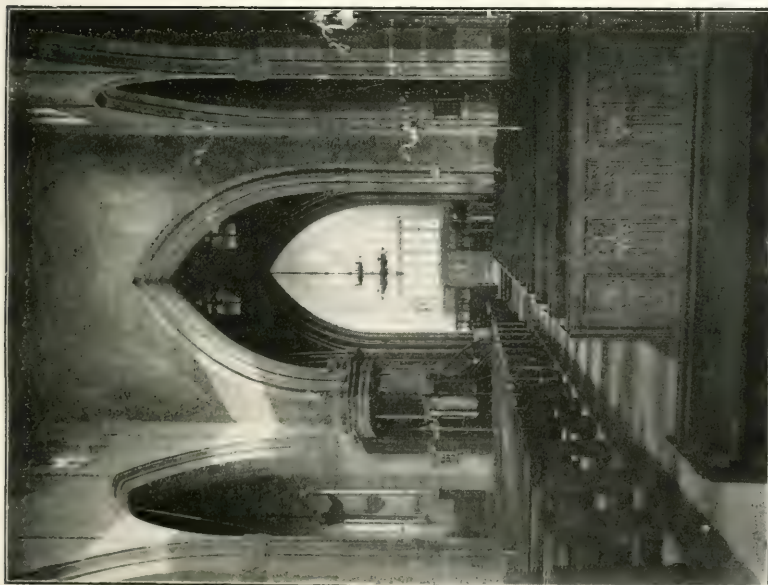
piers are octagonal in form, their capitals moulded and embattled. They carry simple arches of two orders, chamfered, their bases having a large hollow, surmounted by a roll. The character of this work is of an earlier period than that of the nave. Sedilia for sub-deacon, deacon, and priest are placed on the side of the chancel, and near them is the piscina. On the north side was a locker, or aumbry. The tower also is earlier than the nave, and shows the water-tabling marking the pitch of the roof of an earlier nave: proving that no clerestory existed at that time, and that the windows in the tower looked over the chancel roof, as well as over those of the transepts of that day; thus the tower was a central lantern. The present clerestory is sixteenth-century work, its tracery lights being formed of elliptic curves, very flat, and devoid of cusping. There are four three-light windows on each side, and the piers between them are so light as to resemble a thick mullion more than a pier. Small shafts, octagonal in plan, supported on embattled corbels, carry the curved feet of the roof principals. The chancel was lengthened at the time of the clerestory being added, and the late Perpendicular window, removed in 1873 and replaced by the present one, would no doubt be added at the same time. The stall work of the chancel is very fine, and well repays the examination of the careful student.

The south chancel aisle, or Jesus or Lady Chapel, as it is variously called, is very interesting, the ceiling being divided by a richly-ornamented principal beam into two bays, each of which is again subdivided into twenty-four panels, with carved bosses, varying in design at each intersection. Upon the principals we have the monogram of the Virgin, and on one of the bosses the five wounds of our Lord, and various symbolic devices are placed on the others. An altar-tomb of late fifteenth-century design occupies the east end, and a "squint" is cut through the sedilia, to enable anyone in this chapel to see the high altar. The benches in this chapel are very interesting.

The north chancel-aisle is much simpler in its ceiling, the rafters being exposed and unmoulded, with plain



ROTHERHAM CHURCH: NAVE LOOKING WEST.



ROTHERHAM CHURCH: NAVE LOOKING EAST.

moulded principals. Here also is an altar-tomb, with a rich cornice, ornamented with the Tudor flower-cresting.

A memorial brass is inserted in this tomb. Upon it are engraved the effigies of Robert Swyft, Anne his wife, and his four children—Robert, William, Ann, and Margaret. The father is represented in a furred gown, his hair cut in a conventional manner, his hands joined in prayer; the mother has a square head-dress, her hands uplifted, but not joined.

From the mouth of Swyft issues the following words:—

“ Christ is ouer life
And deathe is o’r advantage.”

This north chapel has been ascribed to St. Anne, but apparently without any definite authority.

The lower part of the tower is earlier than the nave, but its arches and their piers have evidently being cut and altered into their present shape, mouldings of a later date being inserted. The remainder of the fabric is generally ascribed to Archbishop Rotherham, who died in 1500; and it is believed that, if not the sole founder, he was the principal contributor to it; and that without his assistance it would have been a difficult task, even for a parish as extensive as this was, and aided by the funds of a wealthy monastic establishment, to have borne the expense of such a fabric.

The vestments and utensils for the altar were of the most gorgeous description and beautiful workmanship. Of these Hunter gives a complete list, but I can only note the following:—A vestment having on the back the image of St. Catherine (to whom a chantry was founded) and a Pax bread, with the bone of St. Firmin.

There is a bequest by one of the family of Clarel, of Aldwark, of a cloth of Arras of the Passion of our Lord, to hang upon the rood-loft, and a stained cloth of the battle between Lord Scales and the Bastard of Burgundy.

The vaulting under the tower is of the kind known as fan-vaulting—a very unusual sort in this part of the country, and which first came into existence in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. There is a peculiarity

of form in this Rotherham, example from the omission of the circular horizontal enclosing rib at the junction of the fan part of the vault with the crown of the vault, the vertical ribs being continued to the central straight ridge. A similar arrangement exists, I believe, at Sherborne Priory.

The nave and transepts are of the same period, the nave having four bays or divisions.

The piers of the arcade are of that diamond shape so often used towards the close of the fifteenth century: much wider from north to south than from east to west, and has continuous mouldings with the arches. The capitals are carved in low relief, with embattled cresting, and are good examples of their kind. The external roll of the pier is carried up perpendicularly to the roof-beams.

Thus we have the clerestory divided into compartments by these rolls, and in each of these compartments a window of three lights.

The ceiling is of oak, panelled and moulded, with richly-carved bosses.

The aisles are lighted by three-light windows, those on the north being different from those on the south, having richer traceried transomes, and the primary lines of the tracery being more symmetrical. The whole of the windows and doors are richly moulded, and there is a moulded string-course below the windows in each aisle.

The west window is a fine example of seven lights: and the western doorway, which has been restored, with its small decorative buttresses, crocketed canopy, and panelled spandrels, forms a beautiful feature in this front. For years it was blocked up, but it now affords access to the church by a flight of inside steps.

The beautiful old screens in the chancel-aisles are of exquisite design and workmanship. Their well-moulded mullions, beautifully-carved crockets and finials, and the groined cornices by which they are surmounted, are of the finest examples of their period. Somewhat similar screens are found at Chesterfield and Ecclesfield, but not equal in beauty to these. I think that originally they

were fixed across the transepts, thus enclosing them as chantry chapels.

The remains of the corbels on the western tower arch are clearly for support of the rood-beam.

Many years ago —about sixty, I think— during some repairs, a mural painting was discovered over the western arch of the tower. A copy of it, in my possession, was made at the time by a local artist, and I have brought it to show you what the painting was like.

Figures of various saints, whom we cannot with certainty identify, from the absence of emblems. They, no doubt, represent the blessed company of saints to whom the church is dedicated. Nude figures represent souls entering the Heavenly Jerusalem, with flags flying as the symbol of victory. Candlesticks at each side, signifying the joy of Jews and Gentiles at the Nativity of Christ, or as symbolic of His double nature as God and Man.

Three cherubin, symbolic of the Trinity, are placed over our Lord, and myriads of angels appear round the arch.





SHEFFIELD CUTLERY AND THE POLL-TAX OF 1379.

BY R. E. LEADER, ESQ., PRESIDENT.

(Read April 20th, 1901.)



ALTHOUGH the Sheffield assessment of the Poll Tax, 2 Richard II, was published in vol. xxx of the *Journal* of this Association, page 248, which recorded the Sheffield Congress of 1873, and was also printed with the returns for the whole West Riding by the Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association in 1882, there are some points in it which have not received the attention they deserve. Its negative bearing on the question of the antiquity of the Sheffield cutlery trade is, for instance sufficiently remarkable to be worth close examination.

A schedule of goods issued from the King's Wardrobe at the Tower about the fourteenth year of King Edward III (1340), mentions "viii cultells de Hiberto, xx parvos cultellos de Assheborne," and "i cultellum de Shefeld." This is the earliest known mention of Sheffield in connection with knives. With Chaucer's oft-quoted reference in the Reeve's Tale, to the "Shefeld thwytel" which the miller of Trumpington "bare in his hose," this is the only testimony to the existence of the cutlery manufacture, or indeed, of any other manufacture, at Sheffield, so early as the fourteenth century. The "Canterbury Tales" are usually assigned to the latter part of Chaucer's life: that is, from 1373 to 1400. They were written at different times, but were probably put together as a whole somewhat later than 1386. This is near enough to say that

they were contemporory with the Poll-Tax. And from the name of Sheffield being associated by Chaucer with knives, we might have expected to find proof of the existence of the industry in the very carefully prepared schedules for taxing the inhabitants. Those who levied the tax did their work very thoroughly. They were careful to record the status of any individual whose position justified the levying of a tax higher than the minimum of fourpence; and thus we find that the ordinary tradesmen—smiths, wrights, cobblers, tailors, coopers, butchers, and the like—were mulcted in sixpence, farmers in twelvepence, and drapers, innkeepers, tanners, merchants (of whom there were none in Sheffield), at this or even higher rates.

Now if Sheffield cutlery were already famous, we cannot suppose that those who made it would rank, in worldly prosperity, lower than smiths, tailors, shoemakers, and the rest. Yet in the Sheffield return not a single cutler is thus distinguished. The only trace of the occupation in this town is the entry "Johannes Coteler iiijd." It would be rash to say that this John Cutler did not make knives. In the then state of nomenclature, before surnames had become fixed, it was customary to distinguish men (among other characteristics) by their trades. Three-fourths of the names of those entered on the Poll-Tax returns for the West Riding are derived from occupations, and this John, or his father before him, may have been a cutler. This, however, is not more than a presumption, for we have in these lists instances showing that a trade cognomen is no sure guide. Even assuming that John Coteler was a cutler, the presence of one artisan, of the humblest rank, cannot by any possibility be taken to be an adequate explanation how Sheffield could have acquired fame for the production of knives.

How, then, are we to harmonise this absence of any trace of cutlers in the Sheffield Poll-Tax with the fact that Chaucer, London born and bred, attached to the Court, and at one time acting as Comptroller of Customs, used "Shefeld" as a sort of trade description, and spoke of a "Shefeld thwytel" in terms implying common and familiar knowledge? It may be suggested that possibly

the commonalty of the town were so universally employed in the fabrication of knives and other instruments in their smithies, that the assessors or collectors of the subsidy thought it supererogatory to specify their calling. But this, surely, is inadequate. Even if we take it as presumptive evidence that Sheffield may have been given up to cutlery, it is no explanation of the entire absence among the artificers of masters, or persons of a higher scale employing workers, and engaged in the task of distributing the products of the workshops throughout the country, to the extent indicated by Chaucer's reference. That implies factors or merchants; and there is no sign of a merchant in our Poll-Tax.

The suggestion is all the more untenable because, while we find no mention of cutlers in Sheffield, they are specified in the villages around. That is to say, in Hallamshire there are traces of cutlery as a local industry—small, indeed, but substantial and definite.

The Ecclesfield list contains "Richardus Hyngham et Isabella utrex ejus (his wife), cotteler, vjd." At Tinsley there is "Willelmus Chapman, cotteler, vjd."; and at Handsworth there are more: "Thomas Byrlay et Margaretta vx. ejus, cotteler; Johannes at Well, et Alicia vx. ejus, cotteler; Thomas Hauk, et Beatrix vx. ejus, coteler." And here, too, we have "Johannes Cotelar, et Johanna, vx. ejus, bakester," and "Johannes Cotelar Junior," evidently their son. Now, as "bakester" (whence our Baxter and Bagster) was the feminine form of baker, and as baking was one of the employments then largely in the hands of women, we may perhaps be justified in guessing that John and his son worked in the smithy, while Joan supplied bread to her neighbours. In that case we have five cutlers at Handsworth; and while three of them were men of substance, taxed at 6*d.* (John, junior, as only an assistant to his father, got off for 4*d.*), Thomas Hauk was a manufacturer of consideration, for he was assessed at 12*d.* The above are the only names of cutlers that I have found in the lists for this wapentake (the area for taxation). They seem to indicate that the cutlery industry, so far as it existed here, was located in the villages round the town, rather

than in the town itself. And this is exceedingly interesting in view of the conditions of industry which still identify (and in times within living memory yet more closely identified) the outlying villages with special branches of the cutlery trade. There is in this strong confirmation of the belief that in the early days the smaller communities in Hallamshire were, even more distinctly than Sheffield, the seats of the handicraft, and that it was not until comparatively modern times that an immigration set in which gave to Sheffield an overwhelming supremacy. But this makes Chaucer's use of the word "Shefeld" the more puzzling. And as we have no trace of knives in the town, so also are lacking indications of "other edged instruments of steel," which Mr. Hunter had "little doubt" were made here.

The making of arrow-heads has sometimes been spoken of as a Sheffield trade. There was, in 1379, an "arusmyth" (John Scott) in Ecclesfield parish, and one "Henricus Breyksarth" in Handsworth (both assessed at 6*d.*), but none in Sheffield. The only trace of the trade in the town is "Stephanus fletcher" (fletcher being a featherer of arrows).

I am glad of this opportunity of stating the problems involved in this inquiry before the Association, because I am not without hope that the eminent archæologists who are Associates may be able to elucidate a local perplexity; or may, in the course of their researches, come upon fresh evidence throwing light upon points that are now obscure.

It has been suggested by Mr. Sidney O. Addy¹ that Chaucer became acquainted with Sheffield cutlery during the time which, according to Dr. Bond, he spent at Hatfield, near Doncaster, in the household of Elizabeth, Countess of Ulster, wife of Edward III's son, Lionel, Duke of Clarence. Dr. Bond assigns as the probable period of this residence, September, 1357, to the end of March, 1358. Professor Skeat thinks it possible that at Hatfield "Chaucer picked up some knowledge of the northern dialect, as employed by him in the 'Reeve's Tale,'" in which the mention of Sheffield thwyteis occurs.

¹ *Sheffield Independent*, May 25th, 1901.

If he "picked up" dialect, why not also some acquaintance with local wares? The inference is obvious, but it is not conclusive enough to remove doubts, especially because Doncaster had itself some trade in cutlery. "Doncaster knyfes" are mentioned in 1446 in an inventory of the goods of Thomas Gryssop, of York, Chapman.¹ A knife-making industry is said to have been carried on not only in London, but in many places scattered over the kingdom—Salisbury, Woodstock, Godalming. There is a mention of London knives as early as 1298, and in 1379 "all the reputable men of the trade of cutlers of the City" had protecting articles confirmed by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. Again, in 1409, the cutlers and bladesmiths were petitioning for redress of the grievance of "foreign folks from divers parts of England," infringing their marks and trespassing upon their monopoly by sending in wares.² This was before the incorporation of the London cutlers.

The little town of Thaxted, in Essex, where one would least of all look for it, presents an especially complete instance of the provincial cutlery trade. In the reign of Edward III, the cutlers there were formed into a company, or mercantile guild, with a warden at their head. The trade was failing in the reign of Henry VII, probably from want of fuel, but attempt was made to resuscitate it by a new charter, 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, subsequently confirmed by Elizabeth. But the effort was unavailing, and the industry died out.³ There is a curious link of association between Sheffield and Thaxted, for Sir John Cutt, to whom the Manor of Thaxted was leased by Queen Katherine of Aragon, is identified by Mr. Hunter as the descendant of a Sheffield family.⁴ And at a much later date—the middle of the eighteenth century—ancestors of my own migrated from the neighbourhood of Thaxted (Broxted), to become pioneers in the recently-invented art of silver-plating.

¹ *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. iii, Surtees Society. "De v pare Doncaster knyfes. ijs. xid. De xij par ditto, xijs."

² Riley's *Memorials of London and London Life*, 1868.

³ *Reliquary*, vol. v. pp 65-69 (1864-5).

⁴ Gatty's *Hunter's Hallamshire*, p. 59 n.

Perhaps I may be permitted to dwell further, for a few moments, on the teaching of the Poll-Tax, as to the humble social state of the town in 1379; because that seems to me to have been owing to what I insisted on in my Presidential Address—the remoteness of Sheffield, and its absence from direct touch with the great trunk roads, which passed from south to north, all unconscious of its existence.

The inhabitants assessed here were 529, representing (since man and wife were counted as one) 354 payments. But only 42 of these were of a standing that subjected them to a higher assessment than fourpence—thirty-seven at sixpence, and only five above sixpence. The highest tax levied here was forty pence, and two couples paid this—John Mapples, armiger (that is, esquire), and wife, and Thomas Schoter and wife, farmer, of the Manor. Mapples must have been a small squire, for the sum usually levied on that class was 20s., though occasionally 6s. 8d., or, as in this case, 3s. 4d. Two other farmers, Robert and Adam Lynes, or Lynot, of the Grange, were each assessed at twelvepence; as was also William de Hanlay “Marchant de beest” (cattle-dealer). The thirty-seven on whom sixpence was levied are all distinguished from the commonalty by having their trades cited specifically in the list. There are nine smiths, six “flessehewers” (butchers), five tailors, three cordwainers or soutars (cobblers), two coopers, two wrights, and two walkers (fullers), with one each webster (weaver), glover, saddler, skinner, locksmith, slater, bagster (baker), and “marifer.” Except these, all are let off with the normal groat, their respective trades not being specified. Of all the inhabitants, only twenty-three were sufficiently well-to-do to keep servants—helpers in their trades or houses. One, John Trypet, had four: two men and two maids. Four others had each a maid and a man, and one, John Monteny, two men. Altogether, there were twenty workmen or assistants, and eleven maids. It is a curious fact, and one I cannot explain, that all those who kept more than one servant were themselves assessed at only a groat.

Now compare this with Rotherham. There, although the payers were 238 against Sheffield’s 354, 21 male and

20 female servants were kept. Forty-nine persons were assessed at more than the normal 4*l.*—one, “merchant” as high as 10*s.*, another merchant at 5*s.*, William de Mapples, barker *i.e.*, tanner, at 2*s.* ; another “barker” at 40*l.*, and an innkeeper (“osteler”) at 40*l.* Two other innkeepers, three drapers, a baker, an ironmonger, a lyster (dyer), two walkers, a webster, a mason, and a chaloner (in all 13 against Sheffield 3) had to pay 12*l.* each; while 30 (against Sheffield 37) of these or other trades (carpenter, tailor, malt-maker, spicer, *i.e.* grocer, and so forth), were assessed at 6*l.* From the 49 paying more than a groat at Rotherham 53*s.* 8*d.* was extracted; the 42 at Sheffield yielded only 28*s.* 2*d.* Both the callings and the prosperity indicated by this list form a remarkable contrast to the Sheffield schedule. There is no draper at Sheffield: there are three at Rotherham. We have no “spicers,” only a “mustardman”—Rotherham has two. We have no ironmonger. It is doubtful whether there was a tanner; Rotherham had two. Here there was only one webster against four there. Rotherham shows three prosperous innkeepers; Sheffield has not one—unless we hazard a guess (from the fact of the association of the name with long subsequent innkeeping, and his having had four servants) that John Trypet may have been an “osteler” or “taverner.” But he and his wife, as we have seen, were only mulcted in a groat.

A comparison with the parish of Ecclesfield (excluding the Chapelry of Bradfield) is not without interest. In population and taxable heads it was almost the same as Rotherham, but it yielded more than either Sheffield or Rotherham: Ecclesfield, 132*s.* 6*d.*; Sheffield, 132*s.* 2*d.*; Rotherham 116*s.* 8*d.* This disproportion is, however, accounted for by the fact that Ecclesfield happened to include a “chevalier,” Johannes de Waddeslay, and a “milites,” Thomas FitzWilliam, each of whom had to pay 20*s.* Out of the remaining 242, 218 paid 4*l.*, seventeen, 6*d.*, two, 24*l.*, and one, 40*l.* Of trades, Ecclesfield had six smiths, two souters, two “marchands de beestes,” two tailors, and one each bocher, flessehewer (butchers), bakester, mercer, cartwright, wryght; besides one arusmyth (arrowsmith), and one cotteler (cutler).

In contrast with these, the importance and wealth of the neighbouring town of Doncaster is shown by the fact that its contribution to the Poll-Tax was as much as 233*s.* 6*d.*

Our good neighbours below us on the Don are fond of declaring that the old address was "Sheffield, near Rotherham." Their population ranked above ours in prosperity and in the social scale, though it was less in numbers. The town was also on a higher grade than Sheffield in the administrative and magisterial business of the Riding. Justice had to be sought there by Sheffield, with much expenditure of horse-hire and immense inconvenience to complainants, defendants, and witnesses. Ours, indeed, was but an overgrown village. Whatever else we can boast of now, ancient prestige does not contribute to the broadening of our phylacteries.¹

¹ The above paper was prepared to be read at the Sheffield Congress of 1903 ; hence its local allusions.





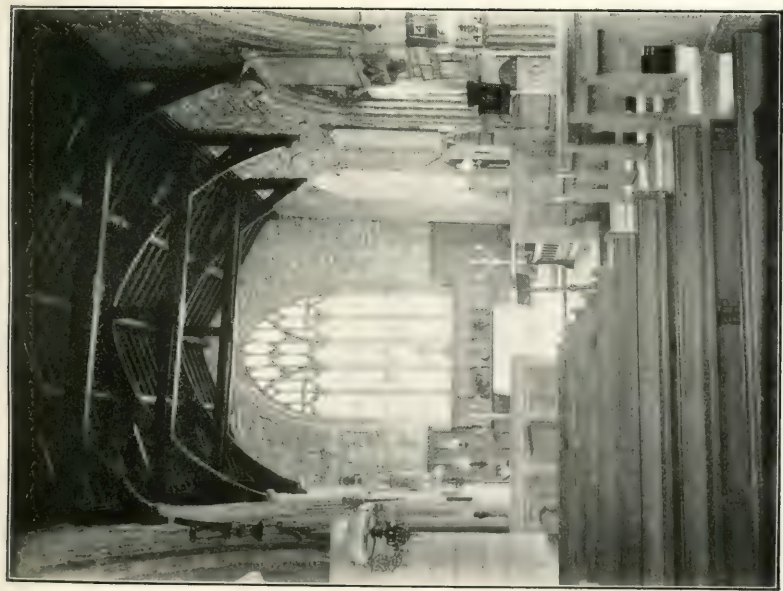
Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 174).

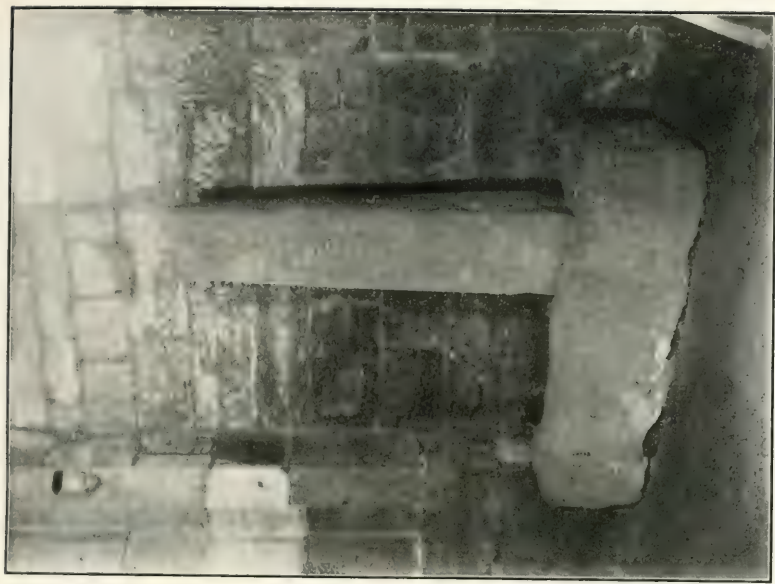
THURSDAY, AUGUST 13TH, 1903.

On Thursday morning, August 13th, a large party of members and friends visited the earthworks at Wincobank and the fifteenth-century church at Ecclesfield. The sun was shining brilliantly as the visitors toiled up the rough pathway to the top of the hill on which the camp of Wincobank is situated. On the one side of the hill it shone on smiling fields and waving trees, and made the distant brown moors shimmer hazily. On the other side it struggled through black smoke and grey steam down into the grimy, sordid, dismal streets of Brightside — a sadly - misnamed quarter of Sheffield. The contrast was startling, but characteristic of the busy West Riding city.

For most of our knowledge of the Wincobank Fort we have to thank the Library and Museums Committee of the Sheffield Corporation, who have defrayed the cost of the excavations recently carried out under the direction of Mr. E. Howarth, who acted as the guide of the party on this occasion, and described the camp. Oval in shape, 150 yards in one diameter and 120 yards in the other, the earthworks can be clearly traced as they encircle the crown of the hill. The outer defence is a bank of earth, next a ditch, and then an inner rampart formed of rough stones piled up to a considerable height, with the larger ones at the base, and the surface faced with smooth clay to render attack more difficult. In this rampart a quantity of burnt stones and charred wood were found built into the wall, and it is surmised that these are relics of the builders' fires. In one or two places the wall had been bored and cut through, so that it might be more thoroughly examined. Round about are small mounds, which have been explored. In one part of the wall the remains of an open hearth have been discovered, but the only "finds" consist of two unworked pieces of jet, four or



LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN CHURCH : INTERIOR LOOKING EAST.



ECCLESFIELD CHURCH : SHAFT OF CROSS.



ECCLESFIELD CHURCH : FROM SOUTH-WEST.



BRADFIELD CHURCH : EAST END.

five flint implements, and the fragments of two Roman cinerary urns. These are the only documents which tell us anything about the people who had their homes in the country around, and their "place of refuge" behind the earthwork, the ditch, and the rampart. That the fort itself was not used as a place of residence seems to be fairly established.

Mr. I. C. Gould, in thanking Mr. Howarth, pointed out that, as a rule, the later Celts fixed on a flat-topped hill for their forts, and that a ridged hill, as here, *i.e.*, with so-called "hog-" or "razor-back," is evidence of early date. He would fix the formation of this fort at quite five hundred years before the coming of the Romans; while the Roman urns of dark grey ware would seem to show that the conquerors, as was their wont, used the camp after driving off the natives.

The President, Mr. Leader, in seconding, suggested that the Duke of Norfolk should be approached, with a view to saving this interesting relic of antiquity permanently from the ubiquitous and rapacious builder.¹

The drive was continued to Ecclesfield, where the church, locally known as "the Minster of the Moors," was described by the President. His Paper is printed above, pp. 153-156.

The most interesting relic in the church is to be seen near the south door. This is the base and one shaft of an undoubted Saxon double cross, which was recently found buried just outside the west door, and by it the history of the settlement, if not of the church itself, is carried back to Saxon times. The sculpture on the face of the remaining shaft, as the accompanying illustration shows, consists of inscribed crosses in panels bordered with interlacing scroll pattern, and the stone is beautifully tooled.

A return was then made to the city for lunch, after which the members spent an enjoyable afternoon at Queen's Tower, where they were entertained at a garden party given by Mr. Samuel Roberts, M.P.

The Members of the Association, with many other guests, were received in the pleasant grounds of their host's beautiful residence by Mr. and Mrs. Roberts and Miss Roberts. Nearly all the members present at the Congress had accepted invitations; and among the other visitors were the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, Alderman Brittain, Rev. Canon Julian, Rev. Canon Mason (Rector of Whitwell), Rev. Wm. Odum, Alderman and Mrs. Geo. Senior, Councillor Nowill, Mr. Porter,

¹ Mr. Gould's further remarks on the subject of Wincobank will be found in his Paper (pp. 29-42). As there stated, the Camp has been saved by the gift of the site by the Duke of Norfolk to the Corporation of Sheffield, in response to the representations of the Association.

Dr. John Stokes, Dr. Manton, Mr. W. A. Milner, Mr. Jackson Smith, Mr. T. H. Waterhouse, Mr. A. H. Holland, Mr. E. Howarth, Mr. J. R. Wigfull, Mr. S. Smith, Mr. Wm. Parkin, and others. A pleasant half-hour was spent in conversation on the lawn; meanwhile light refreshments were served, and subsequently the company proceeded to view "Queen Mary's window," that portion of Sheffield Manor which, in 1839, Mr. Roberts's grandfather had removed to its present position.

Mr. Roberts expressed his pleasure at being able to welcome the Association, and gave a short description of the ruin. His grandfather, he said, who was an admirer of Mary Queen of Scots, when building Queen's Tower, obtained permission from the then Duke of Norfolk to remove this part of the Manor, which was falling into ruins, and was being carried away by the people of the district. This was the traditional window, called "Queen Mary's window," which formed the end of the long gallery of the Manor. Some of them, as archaeologists, might say that the Manor ought not to have been removed, but his grandfather's chief intention was to preserve it; and had he not taken the action he did, the window would in all probability have been destroyed. Mr. Roberts also showed his guests the traditional key of Sheffield Manor, which had been given to his father in 1849 by Joseph Hunter, the historian of Hallamshire, in a letter in which he said that he thought Queen's Tower was the proper place to deposit the old Manor relic. In concluding his remarks, Mr. Roberts congratulated the Association on having Mr. R. E. Leader as their President.

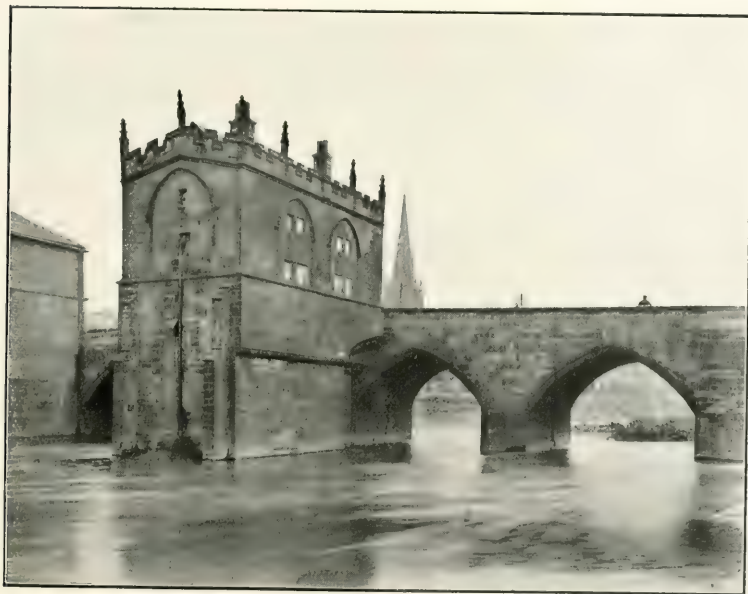
Mr. Leader said that whilst they would prefer to see the Manor in the same way that it was known to Queen Mary and to Cardinal Wolsey, they were yet glad that the window had been preserved. He expressed their indebtedness to Mr. Roberts for his hospitality, and for the explanation he had given of the origin of the window. He thought all interested in archaeology in Sheffield must be glad to see it. He, personally, would like to see more Sheffield gentlemen members of the Archaeological Association; by becoming Associates they would get a good deal of interest from the Society, and would also have the satisfaction of knowing that they were helping to elucidate a great many things connected with English history, and to preserve many memorials of the past.

Dr. Birch also thanked Mr. Roberts on behalf of the Association.

In the evening, at a *conversazione* at the Weston Park Museum, the unrivalled collection of antiquities got together by the Bateman family, from the Derbyshire barrows, was described by Mr. E. Howarth,



From Photo, kindly lent by Dr. J. H. Morton.
CAREROOK HALL: ROOM ON GROUND FLOOR.



BRIDGE CHAPEL, ROTHERHAM.

Curator; and a Paper was read, in which Mr. W. J. Nichols, Vice-President of the Association, gave a detailed account of his discoveries in "The Caves and Dene-holes of Chislehurst, Kent." This Paper was published in the *Journal* of this Association, vol. lix. pp. 147-160.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14TH, 1903.

On Friday, August 14th, for the first time during the week, the rain was coming down with soaking persistency, when over seventy members and friends started in brakes and carriages for a drive of more than thirty miles, through Rotherham to Roche Abbey, and back by Laughton-en-le-Morthen. On the way to Rotherham, Carbrook Hall, now an inn, was the first item of a very full programme. Mr. J. R. Wigfull acted as guide, and contributed the following

NOTES ON CARBROOK HALL.

The present state of Carbrook Hall differs considerably from the illustration given by Hunter in his *History of Hallamshire*. This shows a building, a portion of which is constructed of half-timber work and the remainder of stone, with mullion windows and gables of early seventeenth-century character. All traces of the half-timber work have now disappeared. The remainder of the building has also undergone alteration, being apparently reduced in size, and at the same time losing its picturesque gables. Fortunately, however, some parts of the interior have been preserved in almost their original condition.

Thomas Bright, of Bradway, settled at Carbrook about the beginning of the seventeenth century, and his son, Stephen, built or enlarged the Hall; his initials S. B., and the date 1623, are still to be seen on the iron back of one of the firegrates. Stephen Bright was a man of some importance in the town, being Bailiff of Hallamshire and Lord of the Manor of Ecclesall. He was granted arms in 17th Charles I, as "a person of £1,000 a year estate, of credit and respect in the affections of the gentry, and of extraordinary merit." He died in 1642, and was succeeded by his son, Sir John Bright, who took an active part in the Civil War, rising to the rank of Colonel in the Parliamentary Army. He was appointed Governor of Sheffield Castle after its surrender, and, later, Governor of York; in 1654-55 he was High Sheriff of the county.

Carbrook Hall for about eighty years has been used as a licensed house. The chief object of interest is an oak-panelled room, once the principal apartment of the house, and the scene, no doubt, of many a

conference during the Civil War. The panelling, black with age, is of an elaborate design, divided by pilasters having carved faces; along the top of the panelling is a carved frieze, surmounted by a cornice. Above the panelling is a modelled plaster frieze, ornamented by a flowing design based on the vine, and having shields surrounded by strap work at intervals. The ceiling is divided by beams into six panels; these are ornamented by rib-moulds and modelled foliage; the beams are also enriched by mouldings, and have modelled ornaments on their soffits. At one end of the room is a richly-carved mantel, in the upper part of which is a panel said to represent "Wisdom trampling on Ignorance," the latter represented by a skeleton, while Wisdom is typified by a figure in a long robe, and at one time having a scroll in one hand and probably a pen in the other; surrounding the figures are scrolls, bearing various mottoes in praise of wisdom.

On the upper floor is a room of the same size, with simple panelling on its walls. The ceiling of this room has been renewed, but judging from the modelled plaster on the soffit of one of the windows, it was originally of an ornamental character. The room contains a mantel, with massive trusses supporting the shelf. The overmantel is apparently modelled in plaster; in the centre is an oval shield surrounded by strap work; on the shield is modelled a heron or stork, and a small snake. At the sides of the overmantel are caryatide figures, male and female, bearing Ionic caps. The figures are partly hidden by trusses, below which their feet appear.

Norton House, pulled down about twenty-five years ago, contained a panelled room similar to the one at Carbrook; it was erected in 1623 by Leonard Gill, a relative of the Brights, and was possibly the work of the same designers. An oak mantel from Norton is now at Derwent Hall, and may cause difficulty to future generations of archaeologists if they try and identify the letters *Le G* and the date 1623, which are to be seen upon it, with any of the owners of Derwent.

Templeborough was next passed, where Mr. I. C. Gould described the Roman camp, which formed the headquarters of the garrison of this district. The camp is now a turnip field, but the agger and vallum are plainly visible, and in 1877 excavations, conducted by the late Mr. J. D. Leader, led to the discovery of the remains of the praetorium, columns of stone, tiles, pottery, and many relics: indubitable proofs of continued occupation under Roman rule. One find of special importance is recorded by Mr. Leader—a tile bearing the stamp of the fourth cohort of the Gauls—the cohort whose headquarters were afterwards at Vindulana, on the wall of Hadrian. From this he

concluded that Templeborough was one of Agricola's fortresses. There are traces of earthen ramparts, thrown up by a later and ruder race on the line of the old Roman works. Here the land is very valuable, but Mr. Gould expressed a wish, echoed by every member of the party, that the speculative builder might never lay his hands upon it.

At Rotherham, Mr. E. Isle Hubbard, M.S.A., described the church, the present fabric of which is a fine Perpendicular building ascribed to Archbishop Rotherham in 1500. A most interesting feature consists in the fact that the later builders preserved the caps of the piers of the former Norman church, by using them as the foundation supports of the Perpendicular columns. They are laid in the ground reversed. The fan-vaulting supporting the central tower is an early example and of unusual form. Mr. Hubbard's Paper is printed above, pp. 221-225.

Before leaving Rotherham, the party inspected the curious little bridge-chapel, at one time a gaol, but now used as a tobacconist's shop. There are only two other examples of bridge-chapels now remaining in England: one at Wakefield, the other at Bradford-on-Avon.

When Roche Abbey was reached, the rain was still coming steadily down, and the party accordingly gathered under the shelter of the fine thirteenth-century gateway, where the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley gave a short description of the building—its history and a more detailed account being reserved for the evening meeting. Roche Abbey church is in the purest style of Cistercian architecture, with a few traces of later and more ornate work in the chancel and chapels. While the party was inspecting the ruins in the early afternoon, the sun shone out in fitful gleams, lending an air of indescribable charm to the pure unadorned beauty of the remaining walls, with their broken columns and windows, from which all tracery has disappeared: adding force to the feeling of indignation which fills the beholder at sight of the ruthless destruction wrought in the once fair fane.

The drive was continued to Laughton-en-le-Morthen, where the Rev. T. Rigby, vicar, gave an account of the church, which is printed above, pp. 189-194. It contains remains of three successive buildings incorporated in its walls, viz., the first Saxon church, of which the north door and some portion of the walling in the chancel are to be seen; the second Norman one, of which the columns of the northern arcade exist; and the third Early Perpendicular building, which forms the bulk of the present fabric. A curious feature is to be noted in the fact that the Norman columns spoken of, support the later arches. Mr. Lynam made some remarks on the Saxon doorway, which have

also been printed above, pp. 195-198. A move was then made to the earthworks, which lie to the south and west of the church. These were described by Mr. I. C. Gould, who said they form one of the most beautiful examples of the "mound and court" forts in existence. Mr. Gould's remarks on these earthworks will be found in the Paper referred to above.

On the drive back to Sheffield, a drenching thunderstorm completed the discomforts of the day.

The closing meeting of the Congress was held at the Town Hall in the evening, when the customary votes of thanks were passed. The business being concluded, the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley read his Paper on "Roche Abbey: its History and Architectural Features," as previously mentioned. This is published in the present volume, pp. 199-220; after which Mr. I. Chalkley Gould read his Paper on "The Early Defensive Earthworks of the Sheffield District." This Paper is in continuation of that which he has already submitted to the Association on the subject of "Earthworks," and was published in this volume, pp. 29-42.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 15TH, 1903.

On Saturday, August 15th, a party much reduced in numbers left Sheffield, in pouring rain, to visit Bradfield Church and earthworks. Some members of the party reached the latter, where Mr. Gould pointed out the curious appearance of one side of the escarpment, which looks as though it had slipped down the hillside, though the constructors may have considered the almost precipitous slope a sufficient protection when topped with a strong palisade. The mound here is "mighty," being 58 ft. high and about 39 ft. across on the top, with a wide fosse round it, which links into the fosse of the attached "bailey," only one arm of whose huge rampart—about 310 ft. long—remains, as has been stated; perhaps there never was any more. Mr. Gould considered Bradfield to be simply part of a feudal fortress—never a Saxon moot-hill, or place of assembly.

BRADFIELD CHURCH.

The church was described by the Rector. It is dedicated to St. Nicholas, and has a nave of four bays with north and south aisles, and chancel with aisles of two bays; the central portion extending eastwards, a further bay. There is a tower at the west end and a porch on the south side. The nave arcades and chancel-arch are all that remain of a church erected about the latter part of the

twelfth century. The caps of the nave piers have been cut away for galleries, but sufficient details remain to fix their date. Towards the end of the fifteenth century the church was largely rebuilt; and, with the exception of the parts mentioned above, the whole of the building dates from this time. The list of ministering priests commences with the year 1490; and, probably, this is the date both of the reconstruction of the building and its elevation to the position of an independent parish church. Previously, it was a chapel in the parish of Ecclesfield. The parish registers are in good preservation, and date from 1559. There is a cross of pre-Conquest date, preserved in the north aisle, brought there from a neighbouring place known as "Saxon Cross." At the east end of the chancel aisle a portion is screened off; it is at a lower level, and approached by steps from chancel—probably a bone-house. There is an early Norman font, said to have been presented by the monks of Roche Abbey.

This brought to an end the Congress of 1903, which, in spite of the weather of the last two days, was one of the most successful, as well as pleasant and instructive, of recent times.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 16TH, 1904.

R. E. LEADER, ESQ., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Members were duly elected :—

Rev. C. H. Shickle, M.A., F.S.A., 9, Cavendish Crescent, Bath.

T. Sturge Cotterell, Esq., J.P., 2, Warwick Villas, Bath.

F. Bligh-Bond, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., St. Augustine's Parade, Bristol.

The thanks of the Council were directed to be accorded to the donors of the following presents for the Library :—

- To the Smithsonian Institution—Hodgkins Fund—* for “Phylogeny of *Fusus* and its Allies,” Part I, 1901.
- „ Do., for “Annual Report, U.S. Museum,” 1902.
- „ Do., for “Miscellaneous Collections,” quarterly issue, No. 1, vol. ii.
- „ Do., for “Contributions to Knowledge,” vol. xxxiii.
- „ Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, for “Transactions, 1903, vol. xxvi, Part. 2.
- „ Mayor of Canterbury and President of the Chamber of Commerce, for “Ancient City of Canterbury,” 1904.
- „ Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society, vol. xxvi, 1904.
- „ Stockholm Archæological Society, for “History of Antiq., Manadsblod,” 1898-1899, 1901-1902.
- „ Yorkshire Archæological Society, for “Journal,” Part 69.
- „ Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society, for “Magazine,” June, 1904.
- „ Royal Archæological Institute, for “Journal,” vol. lxi, No. 241.
- „ Royal Institute of British Architects, for “Journal,” 3rd and 4th Quarterly Part, 1904, and “Kalendar,” 1904-5.
- „ Brussels Archæological Society, for “Report,” 1904.

To the Essex Archæological Society, for "Transactions," vol. ix, Part 3, 1904.

„ Do., for "Feet of Fines for Essex" (*continued*).

„ Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, for "Journal," 1904.

„ Palestine Exploration Fund, for "Quarterly Statement," July, 1904.

„ Queen Victoria Indian Memorial Fund, for "Journal," No. 2, March, 1904.

„ Publishers, for "Buddhism," a Quarterly Review, March, 1904, No. 3.

„ Royal Museum of Prague, Bohemia, for "Památky Archæologické a Mistopism," vol. xxi, Part 2, 1904.

Mr. J. Garstang, F.S.A., Reader in Egyptology to the University of Liverpool, gave a lecture on the Roman fort at Brough, and the result of recent excavations on the site. The lecture was illustrated by a large number of photographic views and plans, exhibited by lantern light. The Roman fort at Brough was a unit in the general order of defence in the north and west of Britain, which belongs in the main to the early and middle second century. One well-defined Roman road joins ancient Brough with the Roman sites at Buxton (Aquæ) to the south, and Dinting (Melandra Castle) to the north. The Roman fort (*castellum*) and the Roman camp (*castra*) are not to be confounded, although there are points of resemblance between them sufficient to warrant a conjecture that both were based upon a common general plan. Both were regular four-sided enclosures, with gates and ways, and buildings always symmetrically placed. But the camp, whether of a temporary nature (an earthwork thrown up on the march, destined, perhaps, to be evacuated after a single night) or a permanent fortress, was in either case planned for a large number of troops, a whole legion or more, and consequently covered a large area (many acres) of ground. The Roman fort, on the contrary, was definitely small and strong, the permanent quarters of a garrison. Its area was commonly four to six acres; in some cases it might be as small as three or as large as eight. The number of soldiers who might be quartered within it is not known, and necessarily varied in different places, but to judge from inscriptions, a cohort of auxiliaries would commonly constitute the garrison. Mr. Garstang proceeded to describe the general aspect and purpose of a Roman fort, together with the interior buildings, so far as their uses are known at present. It is hoped the excavations recently undertaken at Brough may result in clearing away the uncertainty which exists as to the use of certain of

these buildings, such as the large building usually found about the centre of the enclosure, and generally called the *prætorium*. The fort at Brough was one of the smaller forts, and is situated a short distance from Hope Station, on the Dore and Chinley line through Derbyshire.

The excavations made for the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society, in August, 1903, were of a preliminary character, but they have, nevertheless, revealed some very interesting features which prove the plan of the fort to be nearly a regular four-sided and walled enclosure with rounded angles, and, seemingly, a gateway about the middle of each side. One feature of particular interest disclosed was an underground chamber, about 8 ft. long by 5 ft. wide at its narrower end, but about 7 ft. wide at the opposite end, and 8 ft. deep. This chamber showed unmistakable evidence of having been altered at a period subsequent to its first formation, the upper part of the wall at its narrower end having been cut away to insert a flight of steps which, about half the height from the bottom, are built up against the wall, and are formed of the stones taken out of the upper part. A very interesting and important discovery was made during the excavation of this pit, or chamber, in the shape of an inscribed tablet. Although the tablet was in four fragmentary parts, they practically presented the whole of the essential portions of the text, which Mr. F. Haverfield renders as under, viz. : "In honour of the Emperor Titus *Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius*, Father of his country, (erected by) the First Cohort of Aquitanians, under Julius Verus, Governor of Britain, and under the direct orders of *Capitonus Fuscus* (or *Priscus*), prefect of the cohort." Only a few days before these fragments were unearthed, an inscription of Antoninus Pius was found in the river Tyne at Newcastle, which also bears the name of Julius Verus. The discovery is the more valuable because hitherto this Julius Verus had not been known to have governed Britain. The photographic illustrations and the capital perspective and bird's-eye views of the presumed restoration of Roman forts, gateways, and bastions, prepared from authentic details, showing the advance in the methods of fortification, as illustrated especially by the gradual change from internal to external towers and turrets, and the arrangements for meeting assailants with a flanking fire, the most perfect example of which now existing is to be seen at Saalburg, in Hesse Darmstadt, enhanced the interest of the lecture.

Dr. Birch, Mr. R. H. Forster, Mr. Emanuel Green, Mr. Gould, Mr. Kershaw, and others, took part in the discussion which followed.

There were no exhibitions, owing to the necessity of arranging for the Lantern, but Mr. Patrick announced the results of the efforts made

to preserve Whitgift's Hospital at Croydon, and Mr. Compton read the following notices of antiquarian discoveries during the recess. The Rev. Dr. Astley mentioned a number of others, but time prevented any description being then given.

ROMAN VILLA AT HARPHAM.

Remains of a Roman Villa have been unearthed at Harpham, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, six miles north-east from Driffield. They include a number of tesserae and fragments of pottery. The flooring of tesserae had been most carefully set, and upon it were found large blocks of mortar and chalk. The pavement uncovered measured nearly 30 ft. in length by 1 ft. to 4 ft. in breadth, composed of red and white material. One small coin only has so far been found (253-260 A.D.). Fragments of wall-plaster were also discovered, some of which has undergone two processes of decoration. The decorative designs of the flooring are floral.

REMAINS OF CASTLE AT NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME.

"During excavations by Corporation workmen at Newcastle-under-Lyme, the foundation of part of the castle, built about 1180, all traces of which for years had been lost, was discovered in an excellent state of preservation. A corner wall of plinth courses has been laid bare to the extent of 10 ft. or 12 ft. square, and depth of 8 ft. The wall is of local red sandstone. The excavations are to be continued and the walls traced. The castle was a residence of several early Kings, and John of Gaunt lived there for several years."

ARBROATH ABBEY.

"The Board of Works has intimated its willingness to take over part of Arbroath Abbey, including the Abbot's House and the Regality Tower, for preservation and access to visitors."

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 14th, 1904.

DR. W. DE GRAY BIRCH, HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library:—

To the Smithsonian Institution for "A Select Biography of Chemistry," 1492-1902.

„ Do., for "Researches in Helminthology and Parasitology," 1904.

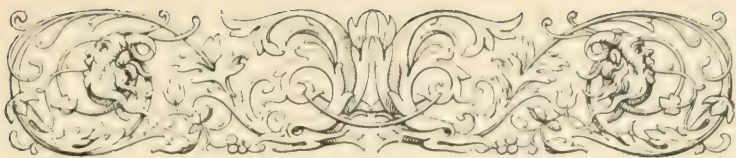
„ Do., for "Collections," vol. xlv, No. 1375.

To the Stockholm Archæological Society, for Hildebrand's "Antik-varisk."

., Author, for "Turrets and Milestones on the Roman Wall in Northumberland," by Percival Ross, A.M.I.C.E.

Dr. Winstone exhibited a fine pewter tankard and a drinking cup, both bearing the hall stamp, and seemingly of the seventeenth century, the tankard being the older. Dr. Birch expressed the opinion that they had belonged to the Kent branch of the Baker family, which settled in Essex, whence these objects came. Dr. Winstone also exhibited a good example of Battersea ware in the shape of an oblong snuff-box; and Dr. Astley a circular box enamelled on copper, similar in character to the Battersea specimen. Dr. Birch said that the box shown by Dr. Astley was of German manufacture, and intended probably for sweetmeats; both were of the eighteenth century. Dr. Astley also exhibited, on behalf of Mr. Selley, some interesting "finds" from the neighbourhood of Bristol, including a stone knife and some flint implements, among them a perfect pigmy arrow-head, together with a bronze fibula, with pin attached, and a curious bronze ornament, found in excavating the foundations of the cathedral. The Chairman exhibited a Cypriote antiquity of about 500 B.C., found by Cesnola, consisting of a rude kind of toy horse of clay, in perfect condition. Mr. Emanuel Green read a Paper upon "Bath Old Bridge and the Chapel Thereon," a subject specially appropriate, as the recent Congress was held in that city. This Paper will be printed. The Chairman, Mr. Kershaw, Mr. Gould, Dr. Astley, Mr. Bagster, Mr. Patrick, and others joined in the discussion.





Antiquarian Intelligence.

The Arts in Early England. By Professor G. BALDWIN BROWN, M.A. (2 vols.: John Murray. 32s. net).—In these two handsome volumes, Professor Baldwin Brown has provided the student of the arts and architecture of our Saxon forefathers with a text-book which is at once full, clear, and exhaustive, and which takes its place immediately as authoritative and complete.

In the first volume, Professor Brown deals with the life of Saxon England in its relation to the arts, and in a series of illuminative chapters he succeeds in investing what has hitherto been considered as a dark and barbarous period with a new and strong interest, both in its relations to the past and the future. Anglo-Saxon Art has its roots deep in the past, derived as it is from the Gothic instincts of the first Teutonic invaders of Britain, blended with Roman, Celtic, and Scandinavian influences, and its branches spread an ever-widening embrace over all later developments. So the Professor pursues his theme, from a discussion of the character of mediæval art, and of the country and the town a thousand years ago, the castle, the church, and the monastery, to an account of the conversion of England, the English missionary bishop and his monastic seat, and the Saxon monastery in its relation to learning and art, and thus arrives at the village church, of which he describes the circumstances of its foundation, its constitutional history, and its relation to the life of the people.

In the second volume he discusses all the existing monuments of Anglo-Saxon architecture yet remaining in England, among which he enumerates no less than 183 churches, which contain more or less work that may with certainty be assigned to the Saxon period. For the first time he attempts to classify these remains, for which purpose he divides them into three sub-periods, according as they may be deemed to belong to the centuries *before*, *during*, and *after* the Danish invasion; and this last sub-period he divides again into three, according as the monuments belong to its earlier, middle, or later years. From the details of his arrangement some experts may be inclined at first to dissent: as, for example, when he assigns the little church at

Bradford-on-Avon to the later years of the tenth century, in the time of Edgar and Dunstan, rather than to St. Aldhelm himself ; but we feel convinced that, as time goes on, so cogent are his arguments, opinions will more and more come round to his side.

One of the most valuable portions of the work is that in which the author demonstrates the influence of the Austrasian portion of the great Carolingian empire upon the contemporary art of the Anglo-Saxon craftsmen. The communications between England and Germany were close and intimate throughout the eighth and ninth centuries, and Germany repaid the labours of missionaries like St. Boniface and St. Lioba and others, by introducing her art-*motifs* into England. In this circumstance he finds the true explanation of the so-called "long-and-short" work of the Anglo-Saxon builders, which is derived from the "Lisenen," or debased Romanesque pilasters of Austrasia, and not from "Carpenters' masonry," as has been hitherto supposed.

Another valuable portion of the work is to be found in the contrast drawn between the position of the cathedral in England and on the Continent ; as a result of which the cathedral sees of England were, until the Conquest, fixed in insignificant country places, such as Dorchester (Oxon.), Sherborne, or Dunwich, instead of being established in the centres of population, as was the custom abroad. But for these and other equally important discussions, we must refer the reader to Professor Brown's lucid and luminous pages.

We regret that space forbids a fuller review of this most important and valuable contribution to knowledge, but we congratulate the author most sincerely on the results of years of painstaking investigation and study of the monuments, and we recommend the work as one with which no student of Anglo-Saxon art and architecture can henceforward dispense. Nothing in this world is permanent, and we do not say that future students may not in some—perhaps in many—respects modify the Professor's results. One generation builds on the foundations laid by another, but we feel assured that in this work we have a foundation laid which no future investigations can altogether displace.

A word must be said, in conclusion, in praise of the excellent illustrations and architectural drawings, many of which are from the pen of Mrs. Baldwin Brown, who is happy in being able to render her husband such efficient assistance in his work !

Methods and Aims in Archaeology. By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, LL.D., etc. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1904. 6s. net).—This little book is the outcome of Prof. Petrie's own researches into the

past, more particularly those conducted by him in Egypt during twenty years, from 1884 to 1903. It is at once a result of, and a stimulus to, that true pursuit of archaeology, which goes to Mother Earth herself for inspiration, instead of being content with books and documents, of which Professor Petrie is one of the most brilliant of modern exponents. He tells us here what the spade has accomplished in Egypt under his own direction and that of the band of pioneers he has trained to this work ; and when we compare his careful methods, similar to those of General Pitt-Rivers in England, and Mr. Arthur Evans in Crete, with the empirical methods of pre-scientific days, we are not astonished at the success obtained.

Archæology, as the Professor says, is the latest born of the sciences, and it touches us more closely than any other. It gives a more truly "liberal education" than any other subject, and is best fitted to open the mind, and to produce that type of wide interests and toleration which is the highest result of education. So here he gives us the methods and aims of research, which, as he says, have been slowly learned in a quarter of a century.

Anyone who has the opportunity of research, even in the smallest degree, cannot do better than follow Professor Petrie's counsels, hints, and cautions ; and those who have the good fortune to work in a wider field will find this handbook equally indispensable.

We rejoice to know that the young University of Liverpool has honoured itself by founding a Chair of Egyptology, and that in Mr. J. Garstang, one of Dr. Petrie's ablest assistants, it has found a worthy Professor. As Mr. Garstang demonstrated, in a recent lecture before this Association, the methods and aims employed in Egypt are equally adapted to England ; and in the account of his excavations in the Roman Camp at Brough, a proof was afforded of the invaluable results which await the patient investigator who knows how to use pick and spade in interrogating the memorials of the past in this country. Ours is pre-eminently the age of science, and this little book is one of the best guides to scientific archæological research that it has been our fortune to meet with.

Let no one henceforth attempt to disturb the innumerable relics of prehistoric and early historic man with which the hills and dales of England are strewn before he has mastered its contents ! Much irreparable damage would have been avoided had the searchers of past days only known how to search. The book is adorned with numerous illustrations.

The Northern Tribes of Central Australia. By Messrs. SPENCER AND GILLEN (London : Macmillan and Co. 21s. net).—In this book

those two indefatigable explorers and investigators, whose earlier work among the Arunta people attracted so much notice, give to the world the results of further studies among the Australian natives, the field of their labours in this instance lying to the northward among the Warramunga, Urabunna, Kaitish, and other tribes, extending as far as the Gulf of Carpentaria. The interest of these labours is, of course, chiefly anthropological, but they concern us as archaeologists, because in these tribes we see, as nowhere else in the world, people still in the Neolithic stage of culture, whose ideas and beliefs help us to some notion of the ideas and beliefs of our own Neolithic ancestors in Europe.

In some respects the Australian natives, owing to their long isolation, are much behind any of the Neolithic peoples of Europe: for they have continued all along the ages mere naked savages, with no idea of permanent abodes, no clothing, no knowledge of any implements save those fashioned out of wood, bone, and stone, no idea whatever of the cultivation of crops, or of the laying in of a supply of food to tide over hard times, no word for any number beyond three, no belief in anything like a Supreme Being. All the more remarkable, therefore, is it that, to judge by their ceremonies and magic, and their totemistic arrangements, they show a distinct resemblance to similar beliefs and arrangements among the Neolithic peoples of Europe.

Just as these latter thought of all nature as alive and peopled with spirits, so do the Australians, and in their customs we may see a picture of what life in Europe was like thousands of years ago.

"Perhaps the most interesting result of our work," say our authors, "is the demonstration of the fact that, in the whole of this wide area, the belief that every living member of the tribe is the re-incarnation of the spirit ancestor is universal. This belief is just as firmly held by the Urabunna people, who count descent in the female line, as by the Arunta and Warramunga, who count descent in the male line. We have also been able to extend widely the area over which the belief is held that the members of the totemistic group are regarded as responsible for the increase of the animal or plant which gives its name to the group."

Our authors hold that there were two waves of entrance into the Australian continent. The first consisted of the ancestors of the Tasmanian people, who were cut off by the severance of Tasmania from the mainland, and consequently remained, until their extinction, in the Palæolithic stage; the second consisted of the ancestors of the present Australian peoples, who conquered the first immigrants, and, as was always the case, killed off their males and married their females

This second immigration pursued three lines from north to south : the first along the eastern coast, the second westwards, and the third, dealt with in this volume, down the centre of the Continent.

These brought with them a certain series of customs and beliefs, which in the course of ages have been modified from north to south, and finally became stereotyped in the Arunta, from whom a reflex wave flowed back towards the north. Our authors regard the knocking out of a tooth as the earliest form of initiation, the barbarous and revolting customs associated with the modern ceremony of *intichiuma* being later developments. As a proof of the original direction of the tide of immigration, it is curious that such things as corroborees are always handed on from tribe to tribe, passing from north to south, never *vice versâ*.

As we read the account of the various ceremonies connected with the totems, with initiation, with marriage, and so on, we are astonished that people at so low a stage of culture should have developed so elaborate a system of ritual, and it is difficult to remember that it is essentially crude and savage in all its essential points. But it is their number which causes them to appear highly developed—the details are, for the most part, revolting in the extreme. Of all these things a full and accurate description is given, the possibility of which our authors explain by saying that they were able to see and take part in everything, because they were regarded as fully-initiated members of the Arunta tribe. The two fundamental points to be noticed about their beliefs are those already mentioned, viz., their descent from *Alcheringa* ancestors, and the system of totemism everywhere in vogue ; and it is in these respects that they are of supreme interest to the student of Neolithic times in Europe. In their magic also we may see an exact counterpart of that of Neolithic man in Europe, as evidenced by his remains ; and we may trace the origin, among living men, of much of the superstition and folklore which is to be found among the peasantry and unlettered peoples of Europe down to the present day.

No student of Neolithic times should fail to read this book, and its companion volume, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, for nowhere else can such a picture be found of the life of primitive man ; and, as he reads, he will realise with thankfulness from what a condition the civilized races of the world have gradually emerged.

Physically these Australian natives are a fine race, and some of the photographs of children and young people show them to be really intelligent and almost good-looking. But the blight soon falls, and after the degrading rites of initiation a settled gloom descends ; the

men become base and evil-looking, while the women are old and wizened before they are thirty.

There are more than 300 illustrations, two fine coloured plates of objects of magic and ceremonial, and a good map. There are also a full glossary and an adequate index.

It is with the utmost confidence that we recommend this book to the archaeologist, but it must be remembered that it is not intended *pueris puellisque*. It may be further noted that the form of the stone implements and tools used by these people is of the exact Neolithic type.

Keltic Researches: Studies in the History and Distribution of the Ancient Goidelic Language and People. By E. W. B. NICHOLSON, M.A., Bodley's Librarian in the University of Oxford. (London: Henry Frowde, 1904. 21s. net.)—"The history of ancient and early mediæval times," says Mr. Nicholson in his Preface, "requires to a far greater extent than more recent history the aid of various other sciences, not the least of which is the science of language. And, although the first object of these studies was to demonstrate to specialists various unrecognised or imperfectly-recognised linguistic facts, the importance of those facts in themselves is much less than that of their historical consequences."

The author claims that the main historical result of his book is the settlement of "the Pictish question," or rather of the two Pictish questions. The first of these is: "What kind of language did the Picts speak?" The second is, "Were the Picts conquered by the Scots?"

The first he claims to have settled by linguistic and palæographical methods only, by showing that Pictish was a language virtually identical with Irish, differing from that far less than the dialects of some English counties differ from each other. The second, with very little help from language, by historical and textual methods, results, he claims, in proving to any person of impartial and critical mind that the supposed conquest of the Picts by the Scots is an absurd myth.

"The Highlander, as we call him—the Albanach, as he calls himself in his own Gaelic—is, indeed, in the vast majority of cases," says the author, "simply the modern Pict, and his language modern Pictish. To suppose that the great free people from which he is descended were ever conquered by a body of Irish colonists, and that the language he speaks is merely an Irish colonial dialect, are delusions which, I hope, no one will regret to see finally dispelled."

The next most important results of these studies are the demonstra-

tion of the great prominence of the Belgic element in the population of the British Isles, and the evidence that so many of the tribes known to us as inhabiting England and Wales in Roman times spoke, not Old Welsh, as has hitherto been supposed, but Old Irish. Particularly notable for wide dispersion and maritime venture are the Menapians; and he traces to them the origin of the Manx nation and language.

As regards Continental history, the great Goidelic element is now shown to have extended with more or less continuity from the Danube to the mouth of the Loire, and from the Tagus and the Po to the mouth of the Rhine. And here he adds a very necessary caution, viz., that names which have not been purposely invented to describe race must never be taken as proof of race, but only as proof of community of language or community of political organisation.

"The Keltic speaking peoples of antiquity," he continues, "may have incorporated other Aryan or non-Aryan tribes, and the Keltic language of any given region may have been introduced by quite a small minority of conquerors—like the English language in Ireland. Even as between the Irishman and the Welshman, the language-test is not a race-test; both in North and in South Wales, many scores of thousands of the 'Kymry' are probably descended from ancestors who spoke Irish; and it is equally possible that the Goidels of Ireland may have absorbed tribes, or portions of tribes, which originally spoke Kymric. In other words, such a term as 'Goidels' is to be taken as meaning nothing more than an aggregate of people who speak Goidelic, or whose ancestors spoke it. The chief linguistic result of the Studies (apart from the determination of the nature of Pictish and of the parentage of Highland Gaelic) is the fact that the loss of original *p*, a loss supposed to be the distinguishing feature of the Keltic family of language, is of comparatively late date in the Goidelic branch—that, in fact, *p* was normally kept for centuries after the Christian era, at Bordeaux till the fifth century, in Pictish probably later still."

The body of the book—that is to say, pp. 9-111—was begun in December, 1900, and was meant to be quite a short Paper on the Menapii, Parisii, and Belgae, in England—to be offered to the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* as a sequel to the author's "Language of the Continental Picts." He was led on, however, from point to point till, at the end of September, 1901, the "short Paper" would have filled 90 pp. of the *Zeitschrift*; and, on his informing the editors, they very reasonably told him that they could not spare the space. In order to fit the material for publication in book-form, he then wrote the introductory matter on pp. 1-8, and the concluding nine

Appendices in which some of the most valuable of his discoveries are enshrined: *e.g.*, the decipherment of the Coligny tablets, the Rom inscriptions, and the Amélie-les-Bains tablets, which determine the Goidelic character of the Sequanian, Pictavian, and Sordonic dialects of Keltic.

In telling of these results, the author continues: "I should have liked to add much on the vastness and richness of the harvest which awaits labourers in the fields of Keltic philology and Keltic antiquarian research. But, until I know a University which could—or a rich man who would—do something to provide the labour, I fear that I should only be wasting time."

We have thought it right to set forth the aims and objects of the author of this learned volume, as far as possible in his own words, and with his concluding remarks every reader will agree. But although we think that he may fairly claim to have proved that the alleged conquest of the Picts by the Scots was a myth, we cannot allow his claim to have "settled the Pictish question" in regard to his first point, *viz.*, the language spoken by the Picts. For although he concedes that the language spoken by a people does not settle its racial origin, yet in attempting to prove that the Picts spoke a Goidelic tongue, he does go on to argue as though this were a proof that they were Goidels pure and simple. Now "the Pictish question" is much larger and more complex than he apparently would have us allow, and even although it were granted that his reading of the remaining Pictish inscriptions was altogether correct, instead of being highly dubious, there would still remain a residuum of non-Goidelic character, which would make it highly probable that the Picts belonged to the earlier Iberian inhabitants of Britain, though largely mingled with their Goidelic conquerors and speaking their language.

But the reading of the inscriptions is not by any means certain, even after Mr. Nicholson's learned labours upon them. To take two examples only:—The inscription on the St. Vigean's Stone, near Arbroath, is read by Mr. Nicholson, "*Drosten; i pex oret ett Forcus,*" *viz.*, "Drostan's; in Py Floret place Forcus," and taken as a proof of the preservation of initial *p* in Pictish; but by Professor Rhys, as, "*Drosten ipe uoret ett Forcus,*" and translated, "Drost's offspring Uoret, for Fergus." Again the new Brandsbutt Ogam inscription, which Professor Rhys can make nothing of, is confidently transcribed by Mr. Nicholson as "*I ratad d' O Aren(n t)*" "in donation to O Faren(n)." Thus we conclude that much more work remains to be done on the inscriptions before they can be taken as the basis for any certain arguments.

The evidence of Irish as well as Highland Gaelic is also against Mr. Nicholson, unless he is prepared to admit the Iberian substratum in the Pictish people; for just as the Irishman employs Gaelic or Erse idioms in speaking English, so the Pict used Iberian idioms in speaking Gaelic, as has been shown by Mr. J. Morris Jones.

But notwithstanding the fact that this book does not "settle the Pictish question," the author deserves all praise for his painstaking labours, and for the many interesting side-lights which he has thrown upon "Keltic Researches."

Many students, of whom the present writer is one, will not admit without much further evidence, that the Belgic people were Goidels, in spite of the solitary Ogam inscription found at Silchester, which has been considered, on apparently sufficient evidence, to be in the heart of a Brythonic district; although, here again, there was undoubtedly a substratum both of Goidelic and Iberian blood mingled with the Brythonic conquerors, who were firmly established before Caesar's time.

The author's investigations into the relics of Indo-European "P" still existing in the Keltic languages are highly instructive, as are also his conclusions as to the Sequanian, Pictavian, Rom, and Amélie-les-Bains inscriptions, while his ingenuity in interpreting the veriest fragments of extinct languages is something to marvel at. The collotype reproductions of the inscribed stones are admirable; but we could wish that the maps had been on a somewhat larger scale.

This is a book to be studied and taken account of by every student interested in Keltic researches; and we thank the author for opening up so rich a field, and for giving so liberally of the fruits of his learning in a little-trodden by-path of knowledge.

Old Cottages, Farmhouses, and other Half-Timber Buildings in Shropshire, Herefordshire, and Cheshire. By JAS. PARKINSON and E. A. OULD, F.R.I.B.A. (London: B. T. Batsford, 1904. 21s. net).—An anonymous writer in *The Standard* has given such an excellent account of this delightful book that we cannot do better than bring it to the notice of our readers in his own words, with due acknowledgment for embodying his review in our pages. We would only remark for ourselves that Mr. Parkinson's photographs, of which there are exactly one hundred, are most beautifully reproduced by the Collotype process, and are the more valuable inasmuch as many of the examples shown may not be in existence in the course of a few years. Authors and publisher are to be heartily congratulated on this handsome volume, which takes a worthy place beside those which have already dealt with old cottages in Kent, Sussex and Gloucestershire, and with old English doorways.

"The charming volume by Mr. J. Parkinson and Mr. E. A. Ould on the half-timber domestic buildings of three Western counties, just published by Mr. B. T. Batsford, will be welcome to all lovers of these picturesque English structures. Shropshire, Herefordshire, and Cheshire, to which the authors restrict themselves, are especially rich, but this style of architecture occurs elsewhere. Stratford-on-Avon has one fine specimen, besides Shakespeare's much-restored cottage; Tewkesbury affords some good examples, and so does Warwick—Leicester's Hospital being quite a gem. They are, in fact, generally most frequent in the counties on either side of the Severn and the Dee. But they exhibit marked differences, as Mr. Ould points out in his useful, but almost too brief, descriptive notes to Mr. Parkinson's photographs. On the east side of England, south of the Thames, an alternation of vertical timbers and long brickwork panels commonly replaces the chequer-patterns of the west; while north of it moulded plaster work is often a successful rival. Nor is such construction confined to England, for we find it common enough in some parts of Germany. In fact, it is sure to be frequent where there is much wood, some brick, and little building stone, and the climax is reached in the all-wood houses of the Mountain Cantons of Switzerland. The style is almost wholly domestic, though it is used in two or three churches, such as Marton, in Cheshire, of which a photograph is given. In this case, the exception justifies the rule. This is no doubt due to the fact that the material makes any but rectilinear designs difficult and costly. The buildings now remaining were for the most part erected between 1558 and 1625, and especially in the last fifty years of this period. Older examples exist, and probably were once more numerous, but many have disappeared. In the west, however, timber continued to be used till well on in the eighteenth century. There are reasons for all this. That efflorescence in Elizabethan days is an indirect consequence of the Reformation, which brought about much building of cottages. The arrest of the process soon after the first quarter of the seventeenth century was due to the approach of the Civil War; then, at the Restoration, the brick buildings of the Netherlands followed the returning Stuarts, and strengthened their footing under William of Orange. Of the three counties included in this volume, Cheshire is the richest in black and white houses, which, as Mr. Ould remarks, 'are as common in its broad plains as the magpies that they so much resemble.' The materials seem equally to suit the cottage and the manor house, the streets of a town or a setting of lawns and trees in the country; Chester, as everyone knows, affords some excellent examples, and what can be more attractive than the Stanley

Palace and the house in Whitefriars. Ludlow supplies another house in a street, and the quaint little abode of the Reader close by its churchyard. Best of the four examples in Shrewsbury is the house at the corner of Butcher's Row, which is both elaborate and effective in design, and one of the oldest instances to be found in the country, for it probably dates from the earlier part of the fifteenth century. Smaller towns, and even villages, have contributed even more largely to this collection. Very effective is a house at Craven Arms, one with a little first-floor gallery at Much Wenlock, the priest's house at Prestbury, and that built by Bishop Percy at Bridgnorth. Among the farmhouses, nothing can be more picturesque than those at Dodmore, near Ludlow, Richard's Castle, The Leys, near Weobly, and Luntley, near Pembridge; the two last-named villages seem to be exceptionally rich, especially in cottages, and for these, however simple, the style is peculiarly adapted. But it can rise readily to the dignity of the manor house, as we can see from such examples as Ludford, Orleton Court, Handforth Hall, with Gawsworth, Welbrough, and Adlington Halls, three near Macclesfield, nor do these names exhaust the list."

The Literature of the Highlands. By MAGNUS MACLEAN. (London: Blackie and Son. 7s. 6d. net).—Mr. Magnus MacLean has followed up his work on "The Literature of the Celts," which was reviewed in our pages last year, with this further work, which deals more particularly with the Highlands of Scotland. It is the more interesting just now, owing to the contest between the United Free Kirk and the "Wee Kirk;" and as we read the story of their literature, we can understand the "dour" and stubborn attitude adopted by the little band of Highlanders who have refused to abandon their principles at the bidding of those of wider views.

The most important chapter deals with Macpherson and his "Ossian." The controversy which raged for so long around the question of the authenticity of "Ossian" is now fought out, and it is admitted that five-eighths of the work is Macpherson's own, while for the remainder he was indebted to ballad stories. Thus the fame of "Ossian" is his, and he is rightly called the Homer of the Highlands. He was undoubtedly a genius, and the charm and enchantment of the epic are all his own. The remaining chapters are not of much general interest, except as showing the sort of literature which is the outcome of, and has been the moulding force of, the Highland character, and the list of Gaelic proverbs displays the want of originality in the people more than anything else. Mr. MacLean, however, proves himself a thorough master of his subject.

English Monastic Life. By Dom F. A. GASQUET, O.S.B., D.D., etc. (London: Methuen. 7s. 6d. net.)—This is the first volume of "The Antiquary's Library," of which several succeeding volumes have now been published, and which, in its entirety, is intended to convey in a popular form the best results of modern archaeological knowledge to the general reader. It is for him they are designed, and it is to be hoped that there is a sufficient demand for such knowledge to reward the publishers and authors for their outlay and trouble. Dr. Cox is the general editor of the series. It goes without saying that the story of Monastic Life in England could have been committed to no one more competent to deal with it than the learned head of the Benedictine Order in England, and right well has he performed his task.

Without going into any detailed historical account of any one Order or House, he pictures the life of a mediæval monastery at its best period, showing the occupation and duties of all its inmates, from the Abbot or Prior down to the Obedientaries and paid servants; and demonstrates how useful was the example of an ordered and disciplined life in the midst of a turbulent population, and how the Houses, both of monks and nuns, were the fosterers of literature and learning, and the instructors of youth among the people. He shows, likewise, what good and generous landlords the religious Houses were, and how grievously the peasantry and yeomen tenants felt the difference when the Dissolution transferred the lands to lay possessors. There are 18 Plates, many from Dugdale; and numerous illustrations adorn the text, as well as three plans of Monastic Houses. There are five maps, showing the distribution of the Religious Orders, but these are so small as to be almost useless, and need enlargement. There is a concise but adequate Bibliography.

A list of all, or nearly all, the English Religious Houses is included, which will be found most serviceable for purposes of reference, and which also shows where ruins, more or less extensive, are to be met with. Praise of Dom Gasquet's work is superfluous, but, within its limits, no better book on the subject exists.

From Messrs. Cassell and Co. we have received the two concluding volumes of their illustrated edition of *Social England*. (Vols. v and vi. 14s. each, net.) These carry the story of the social progress of the English people forward from the year 1714 to 1885, within twenty years of the present time. It is the earlier years of this period which alone more properly fall within our province, but the whole is as fully illustrated and as ably written as were the earlier volumes of this truly great work—a work great in its conception and admirably

carried out. The illustrations are from all sources—portraits, pictures, views, caricatures, besides details of the advance in machinery and in all kinds of articles that make for the comfort and the well-being of the people, and must have entailed an enormous amount of labour on those who are responsible for their choice.

The plan, which was pursued from the commencement, of dealing in order first with the historical setting, and then with the details of the Army and Navy, trade and commerce, literature and art, science, and social progress in all its forms, is carried out to the end, and produces an impression of ordered advance which is almost bewildering in its extent and in its ramifications into every detail of the nation's life. As we purpose dealing with the story told in these six handsome volumes as a whole in a future notice, we will add no more as to these two concluding volumes, except to say that they are fully equal, if not superior, to those that have preceded them; and we can imagine no more acceptable gift for any intelligent boy or girl than this study of *Social England*, nor one which is better calculated to promote a love for Old England, through the discovery of the secrets of her greatness. The letterpress will afford many an hour's enjoyment to older heads. The only fault we have to find is that the volumes, especially the last, are too large and bulky to be comfortably held in the hand.

How to Decipher and Study Old Documents. By E. E. THOYTS, with an introduction by C. TRICE MARTIN. (London: Elliot Stock, 4s. 6d. net.)—This is a reprint of a work published ten years ago, which was well received as a useful manual on the subject of the study of ancient documents. It has been in constant demand ever since it went out of print, and is now reissued in a new and revised form, in the belief that it will be found additionally serviceable in the new edition, and at a time when the interest in ancient family documents is on the increase. The number of those who are called upon to consult ancient deeds, charters, parish registers, and similar documents, has very much increased in recent years: both on account of the many present facilities for access to historical papers, and the greater interest which is now felt in family deeds as throwing light on family history and the records of interesting localities. Some of the difficulties which beset anyone who studies such documents for the first time, unless he be an expert, are the deciphering of the ancient and unfamiliar style of writing; the peculiar abbreviations and signs which were used by our forefathers; the quaint phrases and expressions and obsolete words constantly occurring; the arbitrary and old-fashioned spelling; the use of letters

now out of date; the old forms of foreign languages; customs no longer existing, and other stumbling-blocks, which to the uninitiated are always vexatious, and often cause the would-be student to give up the quest at the threshold of his investigation. It is to enable the more or less experienced student to meet and cope with these and similar difficulties that this work has been compiled, by one who has had considerable experience in research. The following are the subjects treated of in the work, and will show its comprehensive character:—Hints to the beginner; Character by handwriting; Saxon, Norman-French, and law Latin; Old deeds; Law technicalities; Manor and Court rolls; Monastic charters; Parish registers; Parish officers and their account books; Books on palæography; Old letters; Abbreviations, etc. It will prove a useful handbook for those who are interested in family history, genealogy, local history, and other antiquarian subjects; and many who have hitherto been restrained from such investigations by the apparent difficulty of the work will find in its pages the stimulus and guidance which they need to prosecute their studies successfully. *How to Decipher Old Documents* is illustrated with *facsimiles* of deeds and specimens of handwritings of different periods. It is tastefully printed in crown 8vo., on fine paper, appropriately bound in art cloth.

Bygone London Life ("Pictures from a Vanished Past"). By G. L. APPERSON, I.S.O., Editor of *The Antiquary*. (London: Elliot Stock. 6s. net.)—Many books have been written on the endlessly varied aspects of historic London life, but the subject is as inexhaustible as its fascination. The long panorama of that life is of constant interest, not merely to professed antiquaries, but to all men and women of British birth or of British descent in every part of the world; for not only every Briton, in whatever part of the Empire he may live, but every American who traces his descent back to the Old Home, must feel that he is a sharer in the historic inheritance which bygone London has bequeathed to us. The purpose of the author of this volume, as stated in his preface, is "not to treat of any one particular aspect of the London of the past, but to present a few pictures of society of different grades and of various epochs, which should be to some extent typical of social life in the Metropolis during the two centuries between the age of Queen Elizabeth and the Georgian era—the period which formed the connecting link between mediæval and modern times." In the various sections of the book are presented sketches of social and convivial life in tavern and coffee-house; of the vagaries of fashion as exhibited in the beaux and "modish men" of various periods; of curiosity-mongering

and the growth of museums, and some typical characters of the old London streets. Among the many illustrations will be found portraits of some of the famous men of letters mentioned in the volume, and sketches of various scenes of old London Life—the watchmen in the streets, convivial gatherings, tavern brawls, and pictures of street life in the picturesque days of sedan and link-boys, “Charleys,” and bellmen.



Swift at the Christening Supper in the St. James's Coffee House.

(Block lent by the Publishers.)

From Mr. Elliot Stock we have also received three further additions to the ever-delightful “Book-lovers’ Library,” 1s. 6d. each, viz., Mr. W. CAREW HAZLITT’s *Studies in Jocular Literature*, Mr. JAS. ANSON FARRER’S *Books Condemned to be Burnt*, and Mr. W. CAREW HAZLITT’S *Gleanings in Old Garden Literature*.—These are all well known and thoroughly established. One might almost call them classics, and no lover of the byways of literature can afford to be without them, now that they can be obtained for so small a sum, and in so dainty and attractive a guise.

Neolithic Man in North-East Surrey. By WALTER JOHNSON and WILLIAM WRIGHT. (London: Elliot Stock. 6s. net.)—This book comes also from Mr. Elliot Stock, and, though noticed last, is by no means the

least important of those sent us by him. In it two indefatigable workers describe the methods and results of their search for traces of Neolithic man in a little corner of one of the smaller English counties, and the results are, to say the least, astonishing. Within the restricted area extending from Streatham and Croydon on the east, to Kingston and Leatherhead on the west, they have been enabled, by many years of patient observation, to discover indisputable evidences of a large population in Neolithic times, and an enormous number of tools, implements, and weapons have rewarded their search. One of the most remarkable results of their "finds" has been the undoubted proof of the ambidexterity of primitive man, almost as many implements, etc., being adapted for left-handed use as for right-hand. This is a point which has been too much overlooked by previous observers, but now that Messrs. Johnson and Wright have shown the way, we anticipate further discoveries in this direction. The latter part of the book deals largely with surface discoveries, which hitherto have been much neglected, if not despised. An interesting chapter on "Flint" is contributed by Mr. B. C. Polkinghorne, and a full Bibliography adds to the usefulness of the volume. We trust all workers on the Neolithic times will hasten to procure this book, which is a solid contribution to archaeology, and a guide to useful and methodical research. No doubt similar treasures await the seeker in other corners of England, who will use his eyes to as good purpose as Messrs. Johnson and Wright have done.

Church Stretton : Some Results of Local Scientific Research. Edited by C. W. CAMPBELL HYSLOP and E. S. COBBOLD. 3 Vols. 6s. each, net. (Shrewsbury : Wilding.)—This work is of a similar nature to the last noticed, in that it deals with a restricted area, but in its scope it covers a far wider field. For, practically, these three volumes are intended to convey all that is worth knowing about Church Stretton and the surrounding district. And most worthily is that object fulfilled. The Editors have gathered an able band of writers around them, and the subjects dealt with embrace geology, entomology, molluscs, birds, botany, parochial history, and archaeological remains. Only the two latter concern us in this *Journal*. *Parochial History* has been committed to the efficient hands of Miss Henrietta Auden, F.R.Hist.S. and Mr. E. S. Cobbold himself deals with the archaeological remains. These are contained in the concluding portion of vol. ii, and the whole of vol. iii.

In her account of the *Parochial History*, Miss Auden contrives, in the short space of about fifty pages, to pack an immense amount of

interesting information, culled from various authorities, which it is an advantage to have thus brought into one view.

She tells the story of early and later times, recounts the histories of the manors, and has much to say on the various families who have at different dates belonged to the locality. She describes how the early inhabitants loved the hills, but more because of their defensive capacities than for any other reason ; how the Romans settled the district ; how the Saxons brought confusion and warfare, and after driving the people back again to the hills, settled down in the valley and called the place *Stretton*, the “*ton*” on the “*Strata*,” i.e., that portion of Watling Street which passes that way : and how, finally, the Norman came to stay ; and the later developments of the country.

Mr. Cobbold deals with the archaeological remains under four main divisions, viz., A., Pre-Roman ; B., Reputed Roman ; C., Reputed Saxon : and D., Church Architecture. The first embraces the barrows and tumuli on the Longmynd, of each of which (some twenty-four in number), a clear plan is given, besides, in some cases, a view ; the Portway ; and three curious linear earthworks, evidently intended for defence. The second embraces fortified posts and roads, of which the Watling Street, already mentioned, is the most important, and a very good example of a villa at Acton Scott. The third embraces Stretton Castle and Brockhurst, and the hamlet of Minton : of which the curious arrangement bespeaks a time when the inhabitants huddled as closely together as possible around the fortified dwelling of their chieftain, for mutual safety ; and in the fourth a detailed account is given of the architectural features of every church embraced in the district.

Church Stretton and its neighbourhood is, as all lovers of Shropshire know, one of the most charming in that charming county ; but it will be a surprise to many that it should contain so much that is interesting and instructive for the archæologist. In this it is surely not exceptional, and we should like to think that these three little volumes were the pioneers of similar effort in every nook and corner of our land. Were it so, the work of the compilers of the *Victoria County Histories* would be very much simplified and assisted. The plans and descriptions of the prehistoric remains on the Longmynd are a most valuable example of the way in which such work should be done, and may well serve as a model for those who are now engaged in carrying out the suggestions of the Committee on Earthworks.

The list of *Errata* is larger than it should be, and one or two slips still remain unnoticed. These corrections should be embodied in a future edition. The Indices are full and useful, and the illustrations and plans leave nothing to be desired.

A Social History of Ancient Ireland. By P. W. JOYCE, LL.D. (London: Longmans and Co. 2 vols, 21s., net.)—Dr Joyce is already well known as an authority on Ireland and her ancient history, and in these two volumes he has set down, for the benefit of his own countrymen, and of the "Sassenach" invader, the results of his studies in the social life of Ancient Ireland. He has tried to do, though in a different way, singly and unaided, what the many writers gathered around them by Dr. Traill and Mr. Mann have done in the earlier volumes of *Social England*, and we hasten to say that he has produced a most readable and instructive book.

It is not at all a "history" in the usual sense of the word; but in a series of successive parts and chapters, Dr. Joyce discusses the condition of social life in Ireland in all its aspects, from the dim dawn of history down to the time of the English Conquest at the close of the twelfth century. These he discusses under the headings of Government: Military systems and Law: Religion; Learning: Art; and Social and Domestic life: and the result is to throw a flood of light upon the condition of Ireland under its native rulers, and at the same time to explain the unconquerable aversion of the Celtic Irish for their conquerors. For the Irish had a complete and complex civilisation of their own, which they have never been willing to exchange for that of the Anglo-Normans, however superior we may fancy it to be. They were also a highly intellectual and poetic people, in this respect differing *toto caelo* from the Anglo-Norman "boors."

What this book shows us is that the social condition of unconquered Ireland was of slow and methodical growth and development, with duly subordinated grades and clearly-defined ranks, professions, trades and industries, all compacted and held together by an all-embracing system of laws and customs, long established and universally recognised.

The book does not deal with prehistoric times, except for purposes of reference or illustration, but it shows the origin of later customs and laws and social regulations in those dim regions where all is legend and mystery before history begins. A study of its pages will serve to correct two opposite errors with regard to ancient Ireland: that of those Englishmen who think that Ireland was a savage and half-barbarous country before the English came, and also that of those Irishmen who have an exaggerated idea of the greatness and splendour of the ancient Irish nation. To quote the author's own words: "Following trustworthy authorities, I have tried to present here a trustworthy picture of ancient Irish life, neither over-praising nor depreciating; for, though I love the honour of Ireland well, I love truth better." We

think his claim is substantiated, and we heartily commend a study of these volumes to the impartial reader. He will find much that explains and mitigates, if it does not justify, the attitude of Ireland towards her conquerors during the last seven hundred eventful years.

The account of the Brehon laws is full and interesting, and many a curious social custom surviving, or but lately become obsolete, is shown to have its origin in the days when Ireland was governed by her native kings. The artistic genius of the Irish people, not only in metal-work and the illumination of manuscripts, but in ornamental work of everykind—weapons, jewellery, and such-like—is well described, and the overlap of Pagan and Christian art is fully accounted for. The book is provided with no less than 358 illustrations, and there is a good index and an excellent Bibliography.

Wakeman's Handbook of Irish Antiquities, Third Edition. By JOHN COOKE, M.A. (London: John Murray; Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co., 10s. 6d. net).—The Handbook of Irish Antiquities, by the late eminent antiquary, Mr. W. F. Wakeman, is so well-known to all students of Irish archaeology, that this third edition needs no words of approbation to commend it to notice. But Mr. Wakeman's book had grown out of date, and Mr. Cooke was asked to undertake its revision, and to add all that later investigation had rendered necessary. This work he has accomplished with a thoroughness beyond all praise. As a consequence, the greater part of the book has been practically rewritten and expanded throughout, while the chapters on Burial Customs, Ogam Stones, Stone Forts, Lake Dwellings, the Stone and Bronze Ages, and Early Christian Art, are all practically new. The book is therefore, in its present form, a complete and accurate catena of the state of knowledge in regard to the antiquities of Ireland, from the earliest times down to the architecture and art of the Middle Ages. Mr. Cooke differs from the majority of his predecessors in laying special stress upon the sources of Irish antiquities, and in showing that, so far from being indigenous to the soil, they are dependent on the successive waves of influences sweeping from the Mediterranean littoral and from Central Europe, ever westward and northward. Thus he contributes to the extension of that without which all antiquities are practically worthless to the student, the study of comparative archaeology. We find this wholly enlightened and modern spirit breathing throughout the book, from the study of Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments, through the development of Late-Celtic art on to the discussion of Christian art, and the question of the origin of the round towers and Irish mediæval architecture. Thus Mr. Cooke has increased manifold the

value of his book : and it is at once a handbook to the student, a guide to the traveller, and a most readable companion for the stay-at-home archaeologist. There is more real learning and knowledge packed within the pages of this unpretentious little book than in many much larger and more ambitious attempts to describe the antiquities of a country which is full of interest to every one who desires to understand the memorials which past ages have bequeathed to their successors. The volume is adorned with nearly two hundred illustrations, and there is a good index.

Many a good archaeologist finds himself or herself bitten with the prevalent mania for "collecting," which appeals to the less arduous side of the science in lighter hours. Such will be pleased with the three books which we notice together. *How to Identify Old China*, by Mrs. WILLOUGHBY HODGSON (London: Geo. Bell and Son, 1904. 6s. net) treats of the subject in an easy and popular manner, and will enable the collector to arrange his specimens with knowledge, and to distinguish the genuine and the false products of the various potteries. The distinction between "pottery" and "china" is clearly drawn, and the origin of the latter art in England is derived from the importation of Chinese porcelain as early as 1506; in 1576 Queen Elizabeth is said to have highly valued a "porringer of white porcelain." The first stoneware was made at Fulham in 1671, previously to which wood and pewter had been the materials in common use. Wrotham ware dates from 1688, and Lambeth ware from 1676. The Staffordshire potteries commenced work in 1686. Wedgwood pottery goes back as far as 1691, though Josiah Wedgwood was not born till 1731. The first maker was his great-uncle. Leeds pottery dates from 1714. The earliest porcelain was manufactured at Bow in 1730, Chelsea followed in 1745, Derby probably in 1756, Bristol in 1773; Worcester dates from 1750, and Lowestoft from 1758. Of each and all of these, and of many others, a full and complete history is given, and many beautiful specimens are illustrated. A chapter of cautions and suggestions brings a delightful book to a conclusion.

Charts on English China, by ARTHUR HAYDEN (T. Fisher Unwin, 5s. net), is arranged on quite a different plan, but will be equally useful in enabling the possessors of old china to determine the factories at which their ware was produced. A full and complete account is given of the rise and progress and final extinction of the old factories. The story of the Lowestoft factory is particularly interesting, and made more so by the description of the excavations on the site of the

old factory in the year 1901. These resulted in the discovery of some of the moulds from which existing pieces were made, which are now in the collection of Mr. J. U. Yallup, of Lowestoft; and thus a criterion is established whereby the genuine products of this factory may be distinguished from the mass of spurious ware which is designated "Lowestoft." In connection with the eighteenth-century inscribed mugs and jugs, there are many quaint rhymes given, and of Lustre ware, which is now so great a favourite, there is a full account. A distinguishing feature of the book is the "List of Sale Prices," which concludes the account of each sort of ware, and a Bibliography and full index enhance the usefulness of the volume as a reliable handbook. A large number of illustrations, including a coloured plate of the beautiful Worcester vase from Lady Charlotte Schreiber's collection, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, adorn its pages. With these two books in hand, the lover of china, though he may be only possessed of moderate means, cannot fail to secure some treasures for his collection.

From Messrs. Geo. Bell and Sons we have received another collector's manual, viz., *How to Collect Old Furniture*, by FREDERICK LITCHFIELD. (6s. net.)—Many people are possessed by a desire to furnish their houses, not merely in the old style, but with genuine pieces of old furniture: although not everyone possesses the necessary knowledge to ensure himself against at times buying the counterfeit for the real article. Whoever studies this book with care will, at least, be likely to make fewer mistakes than those who depend solely on their own appreciation of what is good, for Mr. Litchfield writes as an expert on the subject of which he treats. Before the end of the fifteenth century, furniture, in the modern sense, did not exist. It is therefore with the great art movement which had its rise at that time in Italy, and spread through Spain and Germany to the Netherlands, then to France, and finally to England in the reign of Henry VIII, that he commences his work. The Renaissance affected art in all its branches, and furniture no less than architecture, painting, and literature. Thus a lucid chapter describes its effect in Italy itself, where cabinets like classic gateways, and *Cassone*, or marriage-chests, like antique sarcophagi, were among its products. Tables and chairs then also first came into general use. This is succeeded by an account of the spread of the movement throughout Europe, and its triumph in England in the days of Elizabeth, whence we proceed to investigate the massive oaken bedsteads and tables and chests of King James's days. Passing by those chapters which deal with

French, Italian, and Dutch furniture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a study of which makes one familiar with the periods known as Louis XIV, XV, and XVI, of which the French *Vernis Martin* panels, the French and Dutch *marqueterie*, and the Italian *pietra dura* are the most striking products, we come to familiar ground in English eighteenth-century furniture. The Dutch influence is shown to have been predominant in the reign of William and Mary (as was to be expected), and in the Queen Anne style, and even the early Georgian. This was followed by the French influence, which was so fully exhibited by Chippendale, Sheraton, Heppelwhite, and their contemporaries and successors. These are severally distinguished from one another; and after the period of the Regency we come to the time of the utter absence of taste, and of the worst rococo and baroque treatment of wood made into furniture, known as the Early Victorian, which has now happily passed away.

By following the "Hints and Cautions," which have a chapter to themselves, anyone with a little taste and judgment, and moderate means, may furnish after the style of his choice, and be fairly certain that his goods are genuine. A useful glossary of "Notes and Explanations," and a good index are provided, and numerous illustrations of fine old pieces of furniture in every style adorn the book.

From Messrs. Lawrence and Bullen we have received the first two parts of *A History of English Furniture*, by PERCY MACQUOID, with plates in colours, after SHIRLEY SLOCOMBE, and numerous illustrations. To be completed in 20 parts. (7s. 6d. each net.)—This truly great work, of which the first two parts are before us, promises in every respect to take its place as the standard history of English furniture for a long while to come, and it fills a niche which has hitherto been quite unoccupied, save for such books as those just noticed. The text is furnished by Mr. Percy Macquoid, whose name is a sufficient guarantee for accurate knowledge of the artistic and historical sides of his subject. The book has been in progress for some years. The greatest pains have been taken to secure examples of English furniture which most thoroughly represent their respective periods, and the illustrations are in every instance taken from the actual objects themselves.

Mr. Macquoid divides his whole work into four periods, of which he calls the first, dating from 1500 to 1660, "The Age of Oak;" the second, from 1660 to 1730, "The Age of Walnut;" the third, 1730 to 1770, "The Age of Mahogany;" and the fourth, 1770 to 1820, "The

Composite Age." The first three names, of course, refer only to the kind of wood predominantly used during each period.

These two opening parts, containing 96 pages of letterpress, six coloured plates, and some 100 illustrations in the text, deal with the earlier portion of the "Age of Oak" down to about 1580, and contain a most complete and thorough account of the subject. The author is not above lightening his pages with humorous touches—as when he quotes, in the midst of a description of the Queen's bedroom, a letter from Gilbert Talbot to his father, the Earl of Shrewsbury, written in 1570, in which the writer describes the Virgin Queen leaning out of her bed-room window, arrayed in her night attire (which incidentally shows that such attire was at that time already worn).

But while according all due praise to the author, it must be said that the supreme value of the book lies in its illustrations. These form a perfect museum of exquisite or interesting objects, and to have this book will be equivalent to possessing the objects themselves, at a nominal cost.

Mr. Stoccombe's coloured plates are simply magnificent, and are so elaborately treated that they show, not merely the utmost delicacy of ornamentation, but even the very grain of the wood, while the half-tone illustrations could not be more carefully reproduced. They all, indeed, surpass in beauty anything of the kind previously attempted: author, publishers, and artists deserve our heartiest congratulations, and for such a work as this we trust the British public will mark its appreciation in the best way possible by supplying an adequate number of subscribers.

Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie. Edited by DOM CABROL, Abbot of Farnborough. Fasc. III. (Paris: Latouzey et Ané. 5*fr.* each, net.)—From the publishers we have received the third fascicule of this great Dictionary of Christian Archaeology, and the work is carried forward therein from the word "Afrique," which was just previously commenced, as far as "Agneau," covering no less than 320 closely-printed columns.

At this rate of progress it may be judged how long a time must elapse before the work is completed, and each part that is published only makes the reader long the more for the day when he will be able to refer to any portion of the whole book. However, we must be thankful for our mercies as we receive them, and we hasten to say that the present instalment in no way falls behind its predecessors, and carries forward the promise of those to come.

How fully each subject is studied may be discovered from the fact that "Afrique" comprises no less than four articles, under the headings : "Afrique (Histoire et Typographie de l') ; Afrique (Liturgie Anti-Nicéenne de l') ; Afrique (Liturgie Post-Nicéenne de l') ; Afrique (Archéologie de l') ; and Afrique (Langues Parlées en) ; while for the epigraphy of Africa we are referred to the words "Byzacène," "Mauritanie," "Numidie," and "Proconsulaire" later on. Of these articles, extending over more than 200 columns, the learned Dom Leclercq is responsible for the first and the two last, Dom Cabrol himself taking the liturgical articles.

It need not be said that the "Africa" here discussed is Roman Africa, comprised to-day in Tunis and Algeria, and part of Morocco; and no more thorough account of Christianity in Africa, ere it was wiped out, first by the incursions of the Vandals and then by the Saracens, anywhere exists than is to be found here. The articles by the editor on the "Liturgy of the African Church," both before and after the Council of Nicaea, are particularly interesting and instructive, and are illustrated by references to the inscriptions, everywhere abundant ; while that on the "Christian Archaeology of Africa" is illustrated by plans and views of the ruins of basilicas and other remains which have been discovered since the French occupation of the country. These are of special value, as showing the growth of ecclesiastical architecture in this province of the Empire, and its influence on subsequent Romanesque and Byzantine styles. No church in Africa whose remains exist, says Dom Leclercq, is earlier than "the peace of the Church" (A.D. 313); but these and other Christian remains are very numerous, one of the most remarkable being the basilica at Tipasa, in which an extraordinary number of monuments with inscriptions has been found. The buildings were, for the most part, oblong in shape, divided into three parts by two lines of columns. At one end there is the *atrium*, at the other the apse or apses, and the presbytery usually extends one-third to half the length of the nave, being screened off. For the systematic and scientific exploration of these and other remains—both of Pagan and Christian Africa—on the part of learned societies and scholars, we have to thank the enlightened patronage of the French Government, which, in this respect, sets an example which other Governments in a similar situation might well follow.

Dom Leclercq is also responsible for a long and erudite article on the subject of the "Agapé," in which the origin of the Christian "Agapé" is traced to the Pagan funeral feasts, which were themselves the outcome of the prehistoric offerings *for* and *to* the dead, and belong



to the circle of primitive Neolithic ideas. The connection of these with the Last Supper, and finally with the feasts in commemoration of the Martyrs, is clearly demonstrated; and thus the Church is seen, here as everywhere, incorporating primitive and Pagan ideas and customs into her system. He also writes on the curious legend connected with the town of Agaune, situated about sixty miles from Geneva, which "became celebrated owing to a story, whose historical accuracy remains disputable, which locates there the episode of the massacre of an entire legion in the early years of the fourth century."

The notes and references are as full as ever, and leave one amazed at the patient and laborious research of which each article is the fruit: while no less than 105 illustrations, besides reproductions of inscriptions, embellish the text. Students of liturgiology and of Christian antiquity owe a debt of gratitude to Dom Cabrol and his learned coadjutors, of whom Dom Leclercq is certainly so far the chief, for this unrivalled contribution to the literature of the subject. One can only hope that they may be spared to bring their great undertaking to a satisfactory conclusion. Meanwhile, there must be many among ourselves who will contribute towards the success of the work by subscribing for it as it is issued.

From Messrs. Asher and Co., of Berlin and London, we have received the first Part of a new work by Professor OSCAR MONTELIUS, of Stockholm, entitled *Die älteren Kulturperioden im Orient und in Europa*. The whole work is intended to be a history of the older periods of culture, as exemplified by the ornamentation of weapons and implements, whereby the relationships and contrasts between the styles of Western Asia and Egypt and those of the earliest historic periods of Greece, Italy, and the lands of Middle and Northern Europe will be described and illustrated. It is intended to consist of six to eight parts, each to cost 25s. net, of which the first is before us. In this the Professor unfolds his "method," and describes the process of his classification. His "method" is what he calls the "typological;" and, as he describes it, one sees that it is the only scientific means of arriving at the period to which any particular type in any of these countries belongs.

The author distinguishes first between "absolute" and "relative" chronology. Relative chronology answers the question whether one object is older or younger than another. Absolute chronology shows us to which century before or after Christ that object belongs. In order to understand relative chronology, we must decide (1) which types are contemporary, and (2) in what order the different periods follow one

another. To understand this we must decide what constitutes a "type," and what a "find." A "find" in this connection may be described as the sum of those objects which have been discovered under such conditions, as that they may be considered to belong to an absolutely contemporary deposit. This being settled we can decide on the "types," and the typological method becomes possible.

Thus Professor Montelius opens up a new field of research, in which he shows how the older Neolithic types are carried on into the Bronze Age, and these into the earliest Mycenaean and Etruscan periods, and compares them with the products of Egypt, Assyria, Middle Europe, and Scandinavia. In these we can see how the older types are reproduced and modified, and how, for example, the horizontal lines on later Bronze celts are derived from the thong-bindings of the Neolithic and earlier Bronze forms; how the Swastika, and spiral, and cup- and ring-ornament, are universal; and how the beautiful lotus and palmette ornament of Egypt is found to have travelled eastward to Assyria and northward as far as Scandinavia, through Greece. "The typologic evolution" of this latter, says the author, "deserves special attention and study," and he devotes nearly forty pages to its discussion. The present Part contains 110 pages of letterpress, and is embellished with nearly 500 illustrations. These comprise axe-heads fibulae and urns of bronze, as well as clay urns and other articles from Greece, Italy, Scandinavia, and elsewhere, showing the rise and progress of the *motifs* of ornament and the survival of details, which were at first useful, as ornament, when their meaning and use has been forgotten; together with every variety of the lotus and palmette ornament, and the "egg-and-dart-moulding" derived from it, from Assyria, Egypt, Phœnicia, Greece, Etruria, Cyprus, Italy, and the northern lands. The book is very handsomely got up, and will form, when complete, a large quarto volume, which will be of the greatest service to all students of pre- and proto-historic ornament. We could wish that an English translation might be hoped for; but such works seem only possible in Germany, where research is encouraged by the Government, and finds a public fitted to avail itself of its benefits.



Obituary.

MICHAEL LLOYD FERRAR.

Michael Lloyd Ferrar, of the Bengal Civil Service (retired list), died suddenly at his house, Little Gidding, near Ealing, on April 23rd, 1904. He was born at Coleraine, co. Antrim, November 24th, 1839, and was the third son of M. L. Ferrar, of Belfast, and grandson of William Hugh Ferrar, J.P., Resident Magistrate of Belfast, 1825, and a descendant of an old English family (Ferrar, of Little Gidding Manor, in Huntingdonshire), settled in Ireland since the siege of Limerick, 1691. Several members of that family had taken an active part in the founding of the American Colonies, especially of Virginia; but they are better known in history by their retirement from a political life, and forming themselves into a semi-religious community, under the guidance of Nicholas Ferrar, at Little Gidding Manor, in 1622.

Mr. Ferrar was educated at Trinity College, Dublin; was ex-scholar and prizeman. He entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1863, as "Assistant Magistrate," and was successively "Joint Magistrate," "Settlement Officer," "Magistrate," "Deputy Commissioner," "Sessions Judge and Commissioner" of Fyzabad, in Oudh, 1889 and 1890; when, in 1891, the two provinces of "Oudh" and the "The North-West" were amalgamated under one Lieutenant-Governor, he was appointed the first Commissioner of the new "Division of Gorakhpur," which high appointment he held until his retirement, in 1896. During his tenure of it he was called upon to display courage and judgment in dealing with the "Cow Killing" disturbances, in 1893.

The Commissioner's presence at Azamgarh gave the needful support to the youthful and inexperienced local officers, and the three European officials who had to face the crisis were able to report, after a few anxious days, that the danger was past.

Mr. Ferrar was a man of exceptionally amiable disposition, popular among both Europeans and natives, and to all classes he was kind, just, and generous. He joined this Association soon after his return from India, and was a constant attendant at Congresses since. He was not often able to attend the evening meetings, but after becoming a Member of Council he took an increasing interest in its proceedings, and his sudden death has been felt as a personal loss by all who knew him among its members.

VISCOUNT MELVILLE.

We regret to record the death, from pneumonia, of Viscount Melville, which took place recently at Cotterstock Hall, Oundle, his seat in Northamptonshire. Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville and Baron Dunira, succeeded his uncle as fifth Viscount on February 18th, 1886. He married, June 18, 1891, the Hon. Violet Cochrane-Baillie, youngest daughter of the first Lord Lamington, and sister to the present Baron, who is Governor of Bombay. He leaves two daughters,

the Hon. Maisie and Montagu Dundas. He is succeeded by his brother, the Hon. Charles Saunders Douglas, I.S.O., his Majesty's Consul-General at Christiana.

The members of this Association will remember the courteous entertainment given them by Viscount Melville at Cotterstock, in 1898, during the Peterborough Congress; soon after which he joined the Association, and continued a member till his death.

NORMAN MAC COLL, M.A.

It is with much regret that we record the sudden death of Mr. Norman MacColl, formerly editor of the *Athenæum*, on December 15th last. He was not a member of this Association, but the present writer can testify to his interest in archaeology, and to his readiness to admit anything archaeologically interesting into the columns of that journal, as also to his uniform kindness and courtesy of disposition. His will be a real loss to all those to whom literature and science are more than a mere name. From the notice in the *Standard*, we make the following extracts:—

“Mr. Norman MacColl was a Fellow of Downing College, Cambridge, a barrister, a scholar, and for thirty years Editor of the *Athenæum*. He was born of Scotch parents, the family being residents of Edinburgh. His connection with Cambridge was always a close and intimate one. One of his Undergraduate contemporaries there was Sir Charles Dilke. It might almost be said that from college he stepped into the editorial chair of the *Athenæum*—at the age of twenty-seven, and in the year 1870. In much the same way, a quarter of a century later, Mr. MacColl chose his assistant from Cambridge, selecting Mr. Vernon Rendall, the present Editor of the *Athenæum*, from the ranks of Cambridge journalism. In 1900, after thirty years of honourable and useful work, Mr. MacColl finally retired from his editorial labours.

“Many good things were said of Norman MacColl. For instance, that he began life in well-preserved middle age; and that he was an ideal editor for a journal of criticism, for the reason that he was not amenable to any sort of personal influence. Though fond of congenial society, he was fastidious in his intimacies, and selected his friends as carefully as his books and his wines. But he was no hermit. At one time he used to take long walks, chiefly in Surrey, with Sir Leslie Stephen, Mr. George Meredith, and a few other members of a select little fraternity. The circle which comprised Rossetti, Swinburne, and their chosen intimacies, knew Norman MacColl well. His quiet independence was immovable: his passive, unswerving justice invulnerable to attack. Habitually a rather silent man, when led into a congenial vein, he was an interesting talker. He was devoted to golf, and played an excellent game. He was a fine historical scholar, a sound classic, and an authority on Spanish literature, his last work being an admirable translation of the ‘Exemplary Novels of Cervantes,’ issued only two years ago. Other publications were ‘Greek Sceptics from Pyrrho to Sextus,’ published in 1869, and ‘Select Plays of Calderon,’ which appeared in 1888.”



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INDEX
OF
ARCHÆOLOGICAL
PAPERS

PUBLISHED

IN

1903

[BEING THE THIRTEENTH ISSUE OF THE SERIES AND COMPLETING THE
INDEX FOR THE PERIOD 1891-1903]

COMPILED BY
GEORGE LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A.

PUBLISHED BY
ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & COMPANY LTD
16 JAMES STREET, HAYMARKET, S.W.

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE CONGRESS OF
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES IN UNION WITH
THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

1904

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 Jones, Kirke, Lawlor, Lega-
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Glass (stained) : *Baddley, Bell*.

Glastonbury : *Mansel-Pleydell*.

Gloucester : *Bazley, Hyett*.

Gloucestershire : *Bagnall-Oakeley,
 Hartshorne, Were*. See "Aust
 Cliff," "Brislington," "Bristol,"
 "Coombe Dingle," "Deer-
 hurst," "Gloucester,"
 "Tewkesbury."

Gosforth : *Parker*.

Great Bedwyn : *Goddard*.

Great Crosby : *Goffey*.

Great Stamford : *Grueber*.

Greek antiquities : *Dawkins, Dent,
 Dickins, Frost, Gardiner, Gardner
 Goodspeed, Harrison, Hasluck,
 Hirst, Lorrimer, MacDonald,
 Mackenzie, Murray, Strong,
 Wace, Williams*.

Gresford : *Palmer*.

Guilden Morden : *Fordham*.

Guilfield : *Jones*.

Gussage : *Bake*.

- Hampshire : See "Silchester."
 Hampton-on-Thames : *Kirby*.
 Hardwick : *Hawkesbury*.
 Harmondsworth : *Kirby*.
 Harpham : *Collier, Stephenson*.
 Hatfield Broad Oak : *Galpin*.
 Haverford : *Owen*.
 Heraldry : *Collier, Hodgson, Were*.
 Herculeaneum : *Hughes*.
 Heston : *Kirby*.
 High Halden : *Livett, Rammell*.
 Holme Cultran : *Grainger*.
 Homestall : *Stenning*.
 Horn books : *Axon*.
 Horndon-on-the-Hill : *Round*.
 Horningsea : *Hughes*.
 Horse shoes : *Hughes, Richards*.
 Horsham : *Godman*.
 Hotspur : *Auden*.
 Houses : *Dale, De Lafontaine, Dickins, Guernonprez, Gunson, Mawson, Niven, Parker, Purdy, Renaud, Stenning*.
 Hunstanton : *Le Strange*.
 Huntingdon : *Vesey*.
 Huntingdonshire : *Bull, Skeat*. See "Bury," "Huntingdon," "Ramsey," "St. Ives," "Warboys," "Wistow."
 Iceland : *Annandale*.
 Icklesham : *Livett*.
 India, races of : *Crooke, Cumming, Fawcett, Furness, Hughes*.
 Inscriptions :—
 Ogham : *Fitzgerald, Macalister, Rhys*.
 Roman : *Haverfield*.
 Runic : *Gaythorpe*.
 Ipswich : *Lagard*.
 Ireland : *Barry, Berry, Bigger, Brown, Buick, Bury, Coffey, Falkiner, Fitzgerald, Haddon, Knowles, Milligan, McWatters, Orpen, Rhys, Stubbs, Westropp*. See "Ardnmore," "Ardrahan," "Ballywillan," "Baltinglass," "Connaught," "Dalkey," "Donaghmore," "Dublin," "Kildare," "Kilree," "Kiltevenan," "Maghera," "Young-hall."
 Iron work : *Dawson, Hart*.
 Isleworth : *Kirby*.
 Kelvelon : *Huy*.
 Kendal : *Whitnell*.
 Kent : *Arnold, Frampton, Gardner-Waterman, Hussey, Stephenson*. See "Ashford," "Canterbury," "Chart (Great)," "Crayford," "Dartford," "Eastchurch," "Eynsford," "Ford," "High Halden," "Lillechurch," "Walmer."
 Keswick : *Marshall*.
 Kettering : *Gotch*.
 Kildare : *Buckley, Fitzgerald, Vigors*.
 Kilree : *Clark*.
 Kiltevenan : *Flood, Knox*.
 Kintyre : *Fleming*.
 Kirklees : *Chadwick*.
 Knapwell : *Hughes*.
 Knowle : *Cunnington, Dixon*.
 Knowlton : *Baker*.
 Lancashire : *Brownbill, Farrer, Fishwick, Harrison, Hollins, Lancashire, Reader, Taylor*. See "Alderley Edge," "Arbury," "Ashton-under-Lyne," "Bleasdale," "Cocken," "Conishead," "Furness," "Great Crosby," "Liverpool," "Macclesfield," "Manchester," "Much Woolton," "Pennington," "Ribbles-ter," "Urswick."
 Langton : *Mortimer*.
 Lantony : *Baddeley*.
 Leeds : *Lumb*.
 Leicester : *Compton*.
 Leicestershire : *Farrer*. See "Aylestone," "Leicester," "Rothley."
 Lewes : *Rice*.
 Lillechurch : *Sayle*.
 Lincolnshire : *Minns*. See "Stamford."
 Liskeard : *Haverfield*.
 Little Canfield : *Round*.
 Littlehampton : *Johnston*.
 Liverpool : *Elton, Lumby*.
 Llandrinio : *Thomas*.
 Llantwit Major : *Davies, Halliday*.
 London : *Beeman, Bond, Browning, Brushfield, Cust, Fletcher, Hill, Kinns, Money, Reader, Savory, Taylor, Wash, Webb*.
 Lourdes : *Lagard*.
 Lowestoft : *Casley*.
 Ludlow : *Weyman*.
 Lymminster : *Johnston*.
 Macclesfield : *Renaud*.
 Maghera : *Milligan*.

- Malay races : *Annandale, Hervey, Wray.*
 Manchester : *Azon.*
 Mannington : *Purdy.*
 Mapperton : *Gildea.*
 Mathematical instruments : *Con stable.*
 Milandra : *May.*
 Methley : *Clark.*
 Middlesex : *See "Enfield," "Hamp-ton-on-Thames," "Harmonds-worth," "Heston," "Isle-worth," "Twickenham."*
 Mills (water) : *O'Reilly.*
 Milton Abbas : *Mansel-Pleydell.*
 Mining : *Roeder.*
 Molland : *Phear.*
 Monasticism : *Gasquet, Graham, Minns.*
 Montgomeryshire : *Thomas.*
 Monuments, effigies, etc. : *Bagnall-Oakeley, Bailey, Barnes, Bilsdale, Carrick, Christy, Coffey, Collier, Davies, Dickson, Dillon, Dowden, Fowler, Hartshorne, Haskett-Smith, James, Matthews, Pri-deaux, Russell, Shaw, Sinclair, Stephenson, Strong, Swynnerton, Vigors.*
 Much Urswick : *Gaythorpe.*
 Much Woolton : *Gladstone.*
 Mugginton : *Currey.*
 Naples : *Gunther.*
 New Caledonia races : *Atkinson, Thomas.*
 New Guinea races : *Chalmers.*
 New Forest : *Moens.*
 New Shoreham : *Salmon.*
 Newbattle : *Carrick.*
 Newbury : *Money.*
 Newton : *Robinson.*
 Norbury : *Allen, Cox.*
 Norfolk : *André, Bolingbroke, Tingey. See "Fakenham," "Hunstan-ton," "Mannington," "Nor-wich."*
 Northamptonshire. *See "Cogen-hoe," "Duston," "Kettering."*
 Northumberland. *See "Alnwick."*
 Norwich : *Hope, Hudson.*
 Nottingham : *Glaisher.*
 Numismatics : *Gooper, Maurice, Pincher, Webb.*
 Alfred the Great : *Grueber.*
 Artaxerxes : *Howorth.*
 British (ancient) : *E.*
 Numismatics —
 Caria : *Hill.*
 Charles I. : *Rushleigh.*
 East India Company : *Johnston.*
 Gold : *Macdonald.*
 Greek : *Wroth.*
 Henry VI. : *Walters.*
 India : *Burn.*
 Lycia : *Hill.*
 Malwa : *King.*
 Medals : *Grueber.*
 Mesopotamia : *Covernton.*
 Persian : *Covernton.*
 Roman : *Blair, Hill, Hudd.*
 Silver : *Grueber, Patterson.*
 Syria : *MacDonadd.*
 Wood (William) : *Nelson.*
 Odsey : *Fordham.*
 Okeford Fitzpaine : *Newton.*
 Orkney : *Johnston, Turner.*
 Oxford : *Gunther.*
 Oxfordshire : *Jewitt, Manning.*
 Pagham : *Guernonprez.*
 Papuan gulf races : *Holmes.*
 Paris : *Thorp.*
 Parish registers : *Phillips.*
 Parishes : *Phear.*
 Parnham : *Robinson.*
 Peasmarsh : *Livett.*
 Pennington : *Gaythorpe.*
 Penrith : *Haswell.*
 Pershore : *Taylor.*
 Persia : *Sykes.*
 Piddletown : *Dillon.*
 Place names : *Crofton, Skeat.*
 Pocklington : *Fowler.*
 Portisham : *Cunnington.*
 Portland (isle of) : *Head.*
 Pottery : *Boyson, Thompson.*
 Asia Minor : *Myres.*
 Bronze age : *Abercromby.*
 Greek : *Dawkins, Mackenzie.*
 Roman : *Hughes.*
 Sussex : *Dawson.*
 Powerstock : *Dalison.*
 Poxwell : *Barnes.*
 Prehistoric remains : *Cunnington, Moule.*
 Barrows : *Mansel-Pleydell, Worth.*
 Boat : *Sheppard.*
 Cairns : *Abercromby, Brier, Coles, Turner, Westropp, Young.*
 Camps : *Cunnington, Gray, Mor-gan, Owen, Solly, Spencer.*
 Circles (stone) : *Barnes, Blow, Coles, Lockyer.*

Prehistoric remains—

Cists : *Hutcheson, Lynn, Westropp.*
Crannogs : *Astley, Üssher.*

Dog : *Hughes.*

Earthworks : *Baker, Evelyn-White, Moule.*

Forts : *Cole, Fleming, March, Westropp.*

Human remains : *Brice.*

Lake dwellings : *Mansel-Pleydell.*

Palæolithic : *Layard.*

Mounds : *Charleson.*

Neolithic : *Hancox, Reid, Watson.*

Phocian : *Langton.*

Pile structures : *Mann, Reader.*

Roads : *Pope, Tingey.*

Stone implements : *Allen, Andrew, Barnes, Boyson, Callander, Cunningham, Dixon, Haddon, Knowles, Layard, March, Watson.*

Stones (standing) : *Coles, Hanan.*

Tumuli : *Jones.*

Preston : *March.*

Rampton : *Evelyn-White.*

Ramsey : *Black.*

Rhineland : *Lewis.*

Rhyd Llydan : *Dawson.*

Ribchester : *Haverfield.*

Ringmer : *Boyson.*

Roman remains : *Cowper, Martin, Mortimer.*

Amphitheatre : *Barnes.*

Armour : *Woolley.*

Buildings : *Meritens.*

Caerwent : *Ashby.*

Camps : *Andrew, Evelyn-White, Hughes.*

Carlisle : *Bower.*

Castlecary : *Christison.*

Clevedon : *Pritchard.*

Coins : *Blair, Hill, Hudd.*

Colchester : *Laver.*

Dorchester : *Coates.*

Exploration : *Martin.*

Fibulæ : *Cowper, Haverfield.*

Forts : *Christison, Haverfield.*

Inscriptions : *Haverfield.*

Langton : *Mortimer.*

Lighthouse : *Ely.*

Odsey : *Fordham.*

Pavements : *March.*

Potter's field : *Hughes.*

Rhineland : *Lewis.*

Ribchester : *Haverfield.*

Roads : *Barnes, Martin, Tingey.*

Silchester : *Hope.*

Vases : *Johnston.*

Roman remains—

Villas : *Carker, Brakspear, Engelheart.*

Wareham : *Bennett.*

Weights : *May.*

Wells : *Barker.*

Rome : *Aitchison.*

Rothley : *Merttens.*

Rotuma island, races of : *Duckworth.*

Roydon : *Gould.*

Rutlandshire : *Haines.*

St. Bees : *Parker, Thompson.*

St. Davids : *Fryer.*

St. Ives : *Evelyn-White.*

Salcombe Regis : *Morshead.*

Salisbury : *Wordsworth.*

Scotland : *Coles, McDonald, MacDonald.* See "Banffshire,"

"Glasgow," "Kintyre," "Orkney," "Tealing," "Tyrie."

Seaford : *Boyson.*

Seals : *Millar, Vigors, Warren Wordsworth.*

Selby : *Fowler.*

Shap : *Whitwell.*

Shermanbury : *Johnston.*

Shifnal : *Fletcher.*

Shingay : *Palmer.*

Shrewsbury : *Dillon, Drinkwater, Fletcher, Morris, Parry, Southam.*

Shrivenham : *Niven.*

Shropshire : *Auden, Fletcher, Phillips, Wylie.* See "Albright,"

"Battlefield," "Claverley," "Ludlow," "Shifnal," "Shrewsbury," "Whitchurch," "Wor-

Siam : *Lyle.* [field.]

Sidbury : *Cave, Morshead.*

Sidmouth : *Morshead.*

Silchester : *Hope.*

Somersetshire : *Bates, Coleman, Fry, Spencer.* See "Bath," "Baw-

drip," "Broomfield," "Castle Neroche," "Clevedon," "Clifton

Burwalls," "Evercreach," "Glastonbury," "Stokeleigh,"

"Wadham," "Winham."

Spoons (silver) : *Trapnell.*

Staffordshire : *Boyd, Wrottesley.* See "Chell," "Eccleshall," "West-

ton-under-Lizard."

Stamford : *Grueber.*

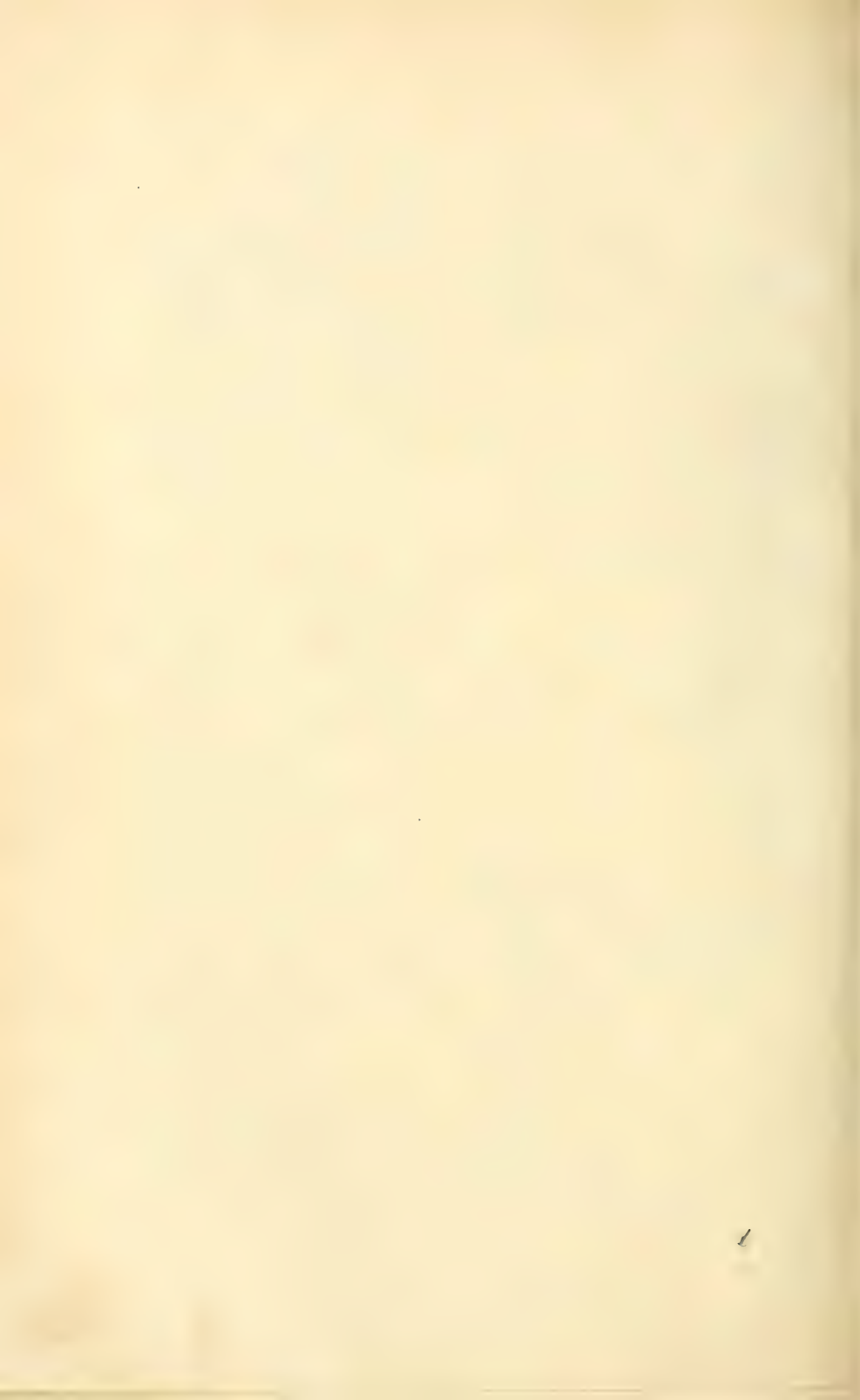
Stoke Poges : *Fowler.*

Stokeleigh : *Morgan.*

Stonehenge : *Blow, Lockyer.*

Suffolk : *Hancox, Redstone.* See "Ipswich," "Lowestoft."

- Sundials : *Acland*.
 Surrey : *See* "Chislehurst," "Wey-bridge."
 Sussex : *Breach, Dawson. See*
 "Battle," "Bodiam," "Chichester," "Cuckfield," "Home-stall," "Horsham," "Icklesham," "Lewes," "Littlehampton," "Lyminster," "New Shoreham," "Pagham," "Peasmarsh," "Ringmer," "Seaford," "Shermanbury," "Warningcamp," "Worthing."
 Swaffham Prior : *Allix*.
 Swavesey : *Palmer*.
 Taplow : *Read*.
 Tarrant Rushton : *Penny*.
 Tawton (South) : *Legg-Weekes*.
 Tealing : *Dowden*.
 Tewkesbury : *Bazeley, Dowdeswell, Were*.
 Thirlmere : *Collingwood*.
 Tilbury (East) : *Round*.
 Tilety : *Waller*.
 Tin : *Rogers*.
 Tollard Royal : *Barnes*.
 Tolleshunt Major : *F*.
 Torrington (Great) : *Doe*.
 Truro : *Jennings*.
 Twickenham : *Kirby*.
 Tyrie : *Young*.
 Urswick : *Gaythorpe*.
 Venice : *Tabor*.
 Wadhams : *Grueber*.
 Wales : *Allen, Haverfield, Lewis, Moore, Owen, Phillips. See*
 "Aberystwyth," "Anglesey," "Brecon," "Caerwent," "Carno," "Gilestone," "Gresford," "Guilsfield," "Llandrinio," "Llantwit Major," "Montgomeryshire," "Rhyd Llydan," "St. Davids," "Ystafell-fach," "Ystrad Yw."
 Walmer : *Woodruff*.
 Warboys : *Ladds*.
 Wareham : *Bennett*.
 Warningcamp : *Johnston*.
 Westmorland : *Farrer, Hodgson, Hughes, Morris. See* "Bampton," "Brougham," "Kendal," "Shap."
 Weston-under-Lizard : *Bridgeman*.
 Weybridge : *Kershaw*.
 Whitechurch : *Thompson*.
 Whitechurch Canonieorum : *Druit*.
 Wills : *Brown, Gaskoin, Rice*.
 Wilts : *Powell. See* "Box," "Cranborne Chase," "Durnford," "Durrington," "Erlestoke," "Great Bedwyn," "Knowle," "Purton," "Salisbury," "Stonehenge."
 Wimborne : *Fletcher*.
 Winsham : *Boul*.
 Wistow : *Noble*.
 Woad : *Plowright*.
 Woodsford : *Moule*.
 Wookey Hole : *Mansel-Pleydell*.
 Wootton Glanville : *Mayo*.
 Worcester : *Floyer*.
 Worcestershire : *Humphreys. See*
 "Pershore," "Worcester."
 Worfield : *Walters*.
 Worthing : *Haverfield*.
 Yorkshire : *Bilson, Bowles, Brown, Clay, Cole, Collier, Farrer, Glynne, Hawkesbury, Humbeston, Sheppard, Poppleton, Stephenson, Wordsworth. See* "Burlington," "Fishlake," "Hardwick," "Harpham," "Kirkstall," "Langton," "Methley," "Poeklington," "Selby."
 Youghall : *Buckley, Day, Orpen, Westropp*.
 Ystafell-fach : *Lewis*.
 Ystrad Yw : *Lloyd*.



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